





BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY  
MANCHESTER

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LIBRARIAN

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No. 2

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is with the deepest regret coupled with feelings of personal loss that we have to record the death of Charles Edwyn Vaughan, M.A., Litt.D., which took place at Withington on the 8th of October, after several months of suffering, which was borne with exemplary and characteristic fortitude.

CHARLES  
EDWYN  
VAUGHAN.

Dr. Vaughan was born on the 10th February, 1854, at Harpenden, where his father was rector. He was educated at Marlborough, and at Balliol, where he came under the influence of his cousin, T. H. Green, who was at that time sending out his students to occupy half the chairs of philosophy in the country. Upon leaving Oxford in 1878, he accepted a post as assistant classical master at Clifton, where his gifts of teaching and scholarship left their mark.

In 1889 he was appointed to the chair of English Literature in University College, Cardiff. The choice was a happy one for Dr. Vaughan proved himself to be a scholar to his finger-tips, exercising a tremendous influence upon his students. Here, too, Dr. Vaughan revealed in college administration that acute insight into the conditions of good government, which in the larger sphere of political theory was ultimately to become the focus of his intellectual work ; and when after long agitation, in which he played a conspicuous part, the Federal University of Wales was formed, he was appointed the first Chairman of the new Faculty of Arts.

Whilst at Cardiff, Dr. Vaughan produced several studies in political or literary criticism which were distinguished for their originality of thought and treatment. They consisted of editions of Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution" (1892), and of his "American Speeches" (1898) ; of Webster's "Duchess of Malfi" (1896) in which new light was thrown upon its source ; and "English Literary Criticism" (1896) which was a succinct and luminous survey, many years anterior to Dr. Saintsbury's history.

At the close of 1898 Dr. Vaughan was invited to occupy the chair of English at the Newcastle College of Science, now Armstrong College, a constituent College of the University of Durham, where he remained until 1904, when he accepted the chair of English in the Yorkshire College of Science, shortly to acquire independent status as the University of Leeds.

In 1900 Dr. Vaughan edited Milton's "Areopagitica and other tracts" for the "Temple Classics," and in 1907 he contributed the volume dealing with the "Romantic Revolt" to Blackwood's "Periods of Literature." This was followed in 1908 by a brilliant survey of the "Types of Tragic Drama," in which he ranges over the whole vast field from Greece to Norway, and from Spain to Russia, always on the basis of first-hand study, furnishing us with the finest introduction hitherto written to the whole compass of European tragic drama.

The outstanding work of Dr. Vaughan's life, however, was "The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau," a brilliant and laborious piece of research, in two octavo volumes, which he brought to fruition in 1915, and which has few parallels as an example of a French classic edited by an English scholar. It was the first time that the political writings of Rousseau had been brought together in this way, therefore in establishing a correct text, furnished with due critical apparatus, and enriched by introductions which put the reader in the way of attaining a fair view of Rousseau's position in the history of political thought, Dr. Vaughan rendered a service to scholarship, the value and importance of which it is impossible to overestimate.

It was in order to devote himself exclusively to this piece of investigation that Dr. Vaughan, in 1913, resigned his chair at Leeds, and settled in Manchester to be within easy reach of the John Rylands Library. His first problem was to establish the text, and with this object in view Dr. Vaughan undertook a minute scrutiny of the manuscripts of Rousseau preserved at Neuchâtel and elsewhere, spending many months of close work in the Swiss libraries. He narrowly escaped being caught by the war at Cracow, where Rousseau's plan for a Polish constitution is preserved. The introduction to the work is a massive piece of historic thinking and exposition, and is in itself a history of the entire line of speculation in which Rousseau is the most commanding and complex figure, with all its ramifications before and after him. One interesting point which Dr. Vaughan makes clear is

that whilst the part which Rousseau played in the French Revolution is generally recognised, his influence upon the great war of nations is little understood. Fichte, he tells us, was the disciple of Kant, and Kant of Rousseau. Fichte's works, embodying his theory of the absolute state, are "manifestly the arsenal from which the later prophets of German nationalism . . . have drawn their heaviest artillery."

In 1917 Dr. Vaughan published a translation with introduction of Rousseau's "Essay on a Lasting Peace," and in the following year an edition of the text of his "Contrat Social" with introduction and notes. Amongst his other contributions to literature mention should be made of the bibliographies of Swinburne, Morris, and Rossetti, which he compiled for the English Association, the British Academy Warton Lecture on "The Influence of English Poetry upon the Romantic Revival of the Continent" and the more recently published (1921) John Rylands Lecture on "Giambattista Vico : an eighteenth century pioneer."

Dr. C. H. Herford in his appreciation of the life and work of his friend and colleague, which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian," very justly remarks that a commemorative notice of Charles Edwyn Vaughan cannot fitly end on the record of his great and solid achievements. His is a beloved memory in the minds of many generations of students, less as the inflexible scholar and critic than as the elder comrade and friend, whose unobtrusive kindly help was never found wanting.

The closing years of Dr. Vaughan's active life were spent in the John Rylands Library, of which institution he was appointed a Governor almost immediately after his settlement in Manchester. Here he was to be found almost daily, absorbed in study, yet ever ready to render help and guidance from his inexhaustible stores of learning.

In our last issue we announced the forthcoming publication of the translation of an unrecorded apology for Islam by a <sup>TABARI'S</sup> <sup>APOLOGY</sup> learned Muhammadan physician and moralist named 'Ali <sup>FOR ISLAM.</sup> b. Rabbān Tabari, who died about A.D. 864, which has been prepared at the request of the Governors by Dr. Mingana.

The character of the work is indicated in the title under which the volume is published, "THE BOOK OF RELIGION AND EMPIRE : a semi-official defence and exposition of Islam written by order at the

court of, and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861) by Ali Tabari. Translated with a critical apparatus from an apparently unique manuscript in the John Rylands Library, by A. Mingana, D.D."

It forms a demy octavo volume of 198 pages, and is issued at the price of half-a-guinea net. Copies may now be obtained from the regular agents of the Library, or from the Librarian.

Hitherto, as far as we have been able to ascertain, no such apology of Islam, of so early a date, and of such outstanding importance, by a learned Muhammadan doctor has been known to exist. The work is of first-rate importance to the Muslim, and not of less importance to every Oriental scholar, whilst to those interested in theological questions it cannot fail to be of interest. It follows generally the "Apology of the Christian Faith" of Al Kindi, which the author possibly intended to refute.

One of the outstanding features of the work is that it contains about 130 long Biblical quotations to prove the divine mission of the Prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac Version of the Bible, said in the manuscript to have been translated by an unknown author called "Marcus the Translator."

Dr. Mingana believes that the problem of "Marcus the Translator," may be satisfactorily solved in the following manner: In the still unpublished repertory of the East Syrian exegesis, entitled "Gannath Bussāmé," a tradition is registered to the effect that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was translated into the Syriac Peshitta by the disciple Mark, probably Mark the Evangelist himself.

The Syriac statement of the "Gannath" is translated as follows: "Some people report that Mark himself translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Syriac, and that he presented his translation to James the brother of Our Lord and to the Apostles, who appended their approbation to it and gave it to the inhabitants of Syria."

An edition of the original text in Arabic, is in the printer's hands, and will be published in the Spring.

Although the collection of Syriac manuscripts in this library, does not compare favourably, in point of numbers, with those of the British Museum, and some other public libraries, it nevertheless contains a number of interesting works of permanent value.

SYRIAC  
MANU-  
SCRIPTS IN  
THE J.R.L.

For example : there is a copy of the "Gannath Bussāmé," which is the unpublished repertory of the East Syrian exegesis ; a volume containing many chapters from the great work on monasticism (the first known to have been written on the subject) by the famous Gregory of Cyprus, the master of S. Epiphanius ; the "Capita" of Nestorius of Constantinople ; and "Catenae" containing quotations from works of Church Fathers considered to be irretrievably lost. There is also an unique lexicographical treatise, probably from the pen of Hunain, and another dating from a time preceding or immediately following the Arab invasion.

Of volumes dealing with miscellaneous subjects, there are two treatises dealing with India ; one written by an eye-witness describing the landing of the Portuguese and their successive misfortunes and final success. Finally, there is a Syriac MS. written in China, containing the oldest extant text of the liturgical prayers of the Nestorians.

A descriptive hand-list of this small but interesting collection has been prepared by Dr. Mingana, and is at present in the printer's hands, the object of which is to direct attention to works of importance, the very existence of which would otherwise remain unknown until the full catalogue, which is in preparation, can be published.

In the present issue we print the continuation and conclusion of the hand-list of the Cheshire manuscripts of Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., which, as already announced, have been deposited in the library on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students. It is followed by a similar hand-list of the collection of manuscripts relating to the Jodrell family and estates, which have been deposited in the library under the same conditions, by Colonel and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell. These deeds throw a flood of new light upon the social and economic history of the county and period to which they refer, and have now been arranged and described in such a way as to render them readily accessible to students.

HAND-LIST  
OF MAIN-  
WARING  
AND JOD-  
RELL  
MANU-  
SCRIPTS.

The tercentenary of the publication of the "First Folio," or first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, falls this year, and will be duly commemorated throughout the Empire and in America. The actual publication took place towards the end of 1623, probably in the month of

SHAKE-  
SPEARE'S  
"FIRST  
FOLIO,"  
1623-1923.

November, since the entry in the "Register of the Company of Stationers of London" appears under date of the 8th of November, in the following terms : ". . . Master William Shakspeers *Comedyes, Histories, and Tragedyes* soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entered to other men . . ." followed by a list of sixteen plays which had not hitherto appeared in print.

The Shakespeare Day Committee proposes that this year's observance of Shakespeare Day, 23 April, should be specially connected in the schools and generally, with the First Folio tercentenary ; and the British Academy has decided that the next annual Shakespeare lecture, to be delivered on 25 April, shall commemorate the tercentenary of the publication of the First Folio. The announcement of the appointment of Mr. A. W. Pollard, the Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, and one of our foremost Shakespearean scholars, to deliver the lecture will give general satisfaction.

We shall commemorate the event by publishing in our next issue (July) a descriptive account of the First Folio, of which there are two copies in the library.

Furthermore, we propose to revive the exhibition which was arranged in 1916, to commemorate the Death of Shakespeare. The object which we had in view in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits, was to show the unfolding of Shakespeare's mind as it is reflected in his works. This we sought to accomplish by exhibiting, not only such of the original and early editions of the poet's own writings as the library contains, but the principal sources which he employed in their composition.

As a result we were able to bring together, from the library shelves, copies of the actual editions of the principal works which Shakespeare undoubtedly had around him, since they are the works from which he drew the foundation plots and other material employed by him in the composition of his own plays.

In addition to what may be described as the direct sources, we shall include an interesting selection of contemporary works of a more general interest, with which Shakespeare was certainly familiar, and which may be described as his indirect sources, or general reference books.

Contemporary writings, which are of interest as bearing directly upon Shakespeare and his times in the form of allusions to the poet, or works of topographical or historical value will also be exhibited.

Another feature of our exhibition will be a collection of school-books, many of which were current in Shakespeare's day. This will serve to convey an idea of the character and high standard of the education which obtained in England, not only in Shakespeare's day, but also in the earlier part of the sixteenth century.

Copies of the Exhibition Catalogue, issued in connection with the Commemoration of 1916, are still to be obtained (Price one shilling, postage fourpence). It is a fully annotated description of the works exhibited, preceded by "A brief sketch of the life and times of Shakespeare," and "A Chronological table of the principal events in the life and times of Shakespeare"; and is furnished with a list of works for the study of Shakespeare, together with sixteen facsimiles of some of the rarer items exhibited.

We have been requested to announce the following particulars of the forthcoming Sixth International Congress of Historical Studies, the organization of which has been undertaken by Belgian historians, at the suggestion of the Royal Historical Society of London.

INTERNA-  
TIONAL  
CONGRESS  
OF HISTOR-  
ICAL  
STUDIES.

The meetings will take place in Brussels from the 8th to the 15th of April, 1923, and already a number of the leading scholars have signified their intention of contributing papers, and of taking part in the Congress.

The organization of the Congress, which is under the patronage of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, will be practically the same as that of the five preceding Congresses, which were held in Paris, Rome, Berlin, and London respectively between 1900 and 1913. The scope, however, will be somewhat enlarged, and the following sections will be arranged :—

1. Oriental History.
2. Greek and Roman History.
3. Byzantine Studies.
4. Medieval History.
5. Modern and Contemporary History (including Colonial History).
6. 1st sub-section, History of Religions; 2nd sub-section, Ecclesiastical History.
7. Legal History.
8. Economic History.

9. History of Civilization (Philosophy, Sciences, Political and Social Theories, etc.) ; Sub-section, History of Education.
10. 1st sub-section, History of Art ; 2nd sub-section, Archæology (including Prehistoric Studies).
11. Historical Methodology and Auxiliary Sciences (including Historical Geography).
12. Information concerning the History of the World during the Great War.
13. Archives and Publications of Historical Texts.

The Executive Committee is composed of the following :—

President.—M. H. Pirenne, Professor in the University of Ghent.

Vice-Presidents.—R. P. Delehaye, S.J., President of the Bollandists Society.

M. F. Cumont, Honorary Professor of the University of Ghent.

General Secretary.—M. G. Des Marez, Professor in the University of Brussels.

Treasurer.—M. CH. Terlinden, Professor in the University of Louvain.

Secretary.—M. F. L. Ganshof, Ph. et Litt.D., LL.D.

The subscription has been fixed at 50 Belgian francs. Applications for membership may be sent to the Secretary (M. F. L. Ganshof, 12 rue Jacques Jordaens, Bruxelles) and to the Treasurer (M. CH. Terlinden, 61-Avenue Legrand, Bruxelles).

The Secretary, M. F. L. Ganshof, will be pleased to furnish any further information that may be desired. Those wishing to read papers are requested to communicate with him.

The following is a list of the arrangements made for the delivery of public lectures, in the John Rylands Library, during the present session, being the twenty-first series to be so arranged. PUBLIC LECTURES.

### EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 18th October, 1922. “The Book of Job.” By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th November, 1922. "Vergil's Farm." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th December, 1922. "An Archæologist's Account of the Montanist Heresy." By W. M. Calder, M.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th January, 1923. "Recent Discoveries in Greece." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By Mary Herford Braunholtz, M.A., Lecturer in Classical Archæology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th February, 1923. "Conflicting Tendencies in Fourteenth Century Administration." By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1923. "Milton and Dante." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., etc., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th April, 1923. "Milton as the Greatest of Englishmen." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

#### AFTERNOON LECTURE (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 10th April, 1923. "The Conception of Evolution embodied in William Morris's Epic of 'Sigurd the Volsung.'" By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the year 1922, numbered 4567 volumes, of which 3497 were acquired by purchase, and 1070 by gift. The number of books added by purchase during that period is smaller than was usually the case a year or two ago. This is easily accounted for by reason of the abnormally high prices at which books are now published, as compared with those which ruled in pre-war days, and also in consequence of the heavy financial stress under which we, in common with other institutions of a similar character, are still struggling.

ACCES-  
SIONS TO  
THE LIB-  
RARY IN  
1922.

The acquisitions by purchase include a number of important sets, which add to the strength of several departments of literature in which the library is already fairly well equipped. Indeed, it has been our constant endeavour to keep the library abreast of the times in those branches of learning in which the research students and other readers, who make regular use of the facilities offered, may reasonably expect to find upon its shelves the latest or best authorities ; and we are always ready sympathetically to consider any suggestions they may care to offer towards the improvement of the library's equipment.

The files of foreign periodicals, society publications, and the continuations of the foreign works in progress, which dropped sadly into arrears during the difficult years of the war, have now generally been brought up to date.

As an indication of the character of the additions that have been made, apart from current literature, we mention a few items taken almost at random from the lists : Dreve and Blume's, "*Analecta hymnica Medii aevi . . .*," 1886, etc., 54 vols., 8vo ; "*Publications of the Cantilupe Society*," 1909-21, 19 vols., 8vo ; "*Repertoire d'art et d'archéologie*," 1910-21, 6 vols., 8vo ; Hardouin's "*Acta conciliorum . . .*" 1715, 11 vols. in 12, Fol. ; Hebbel (F.), "*Sämmtliche Werke*," 1875-82, 15 vols., 8vo ; Reuter (F.), "*Sämmtliche Werke*," 15 vols., 8vo ; Cumberland's "*British Theatre*," and "*Modern Theatre*," 1826, etc., 54 vols., 8vo ; Bricka's "*Dansk biografisk Lexikon, tillige omfattende Norge for tidsrummet, 1537-1814*," 1887-1905, 19 vols., 8vo ; A collection of late 18th and early 19th century (pre-Victorian) novels, 559 vols., 8vo ; Baluze, "*Histoire Généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne*," 1708, 2 vols., Fol. ; "*Meisterwerke der Graphik im XV bis XVII (und im) XVIII Jahrhunderts*," von A. Stix, 1920-21, 2 vols., Fol. ; William Blake's "*Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*," Fol. ; and his "*Designs for Gray's Poems*," Fol. ; "*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*," 1893-1921, 4 vols., Fol. ; "*Antike Denkmäler*," Hgbn. vom Deutschen Archaeolog. Institut, 1887-1916, 2 vols., Fol. ; St. Francis of Assissi's "*I fioretti*," one of twelve copies on vellum printed at the Ashendene Press, 1922 ; "*Catalogue des Manuscrits Français dans la Bibliothèque Imperiale*," 1868-1902, 5 vols., Fol. ; Facsimiles of "*Der Codex Aureus der Münchener Staats Bibliothek*," vols. 1 and 2, Fol., of the Old Testament portion of the "*Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*," Fol., of "*Il Codice Landino della*

Divina Commedia," 1921, Fol. ; First editions of three plays of John Dennis, "A Plot and no Plot," 1697, "Rainaldo and Amunda," 1699, "Liberty Asserted," 1704 ; Hawarde's "Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593-1609" (printed for private circulation, 1894) ; Romanin's "Storia Documentata di Venezia," 1912-21, 10 vols., 8vo ; Piette's "L'art pendant l'âge du renne," 1907, 4to ; "Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ," 1888-1902, 6 vols., 8vo ; Sir Arthur Evans's "The Palace of Minos at Knossos," Vol. I., 1921, 4to.

The following manuscripts have also been acquired : A collection of 400 deeds chiefly of the 17th and 18th centuries relating to Lancashire ; The Manor Book of Bottesford, c. 1550-1688 ; and 350 charters and deeds from the 16th century onwards, relating to Lincolnshire ; A Psalter and Hymnal for the use of Benedictines at Fonte Avellana, Saec. XIII ; and 10 Arabic codices.

The following is a list of the donors, to the number of 124, whose gifts so greatly enriched the library during 1922, to each GIFTS TO  
THE  
LIBRARY. of whom we take this opportunity of renewing and emphasizing the thanks already conveyed to them in another form, and of assuring them that these expressions of good-will are a constant source of encouragement to the Governors, as well as to the present writer :—

|                                       |                        |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Mrs. Addison.                         | E. C. Farnsworth, Esq. |
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| Miss L. C. Barney.                    | E. F. B. Fell, Esq.    |
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| The Rt. Rev. Mngr. P. Ladeuze. | O. Roescher, Esq.                         |
| J. W. Lea, Esq.                | Sir H. D. Rolleston, K.C.B.               |
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| D. B. Macdonald, Esq.          | D. A. Slater, Esq.                        |
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| W. Gwinn Mather, Esq.          | Prof. H. de Vocht.                        |
| Dr. Mingana.                   | The Rev. A. H. Walker.                    |
| The Rev. D. A. de Mouilpied.   | The Rev. J. E. W. Wallis.                 |
| Madame Jules Nicole.           | Dr. C. Wessely.                           |
| Mrs. Oates.                    | T. Whyman, Esq.                           |
| J. Peacock, Esq.               | A. C. Wilson, Esq.                        |
| J. G. Pearce, Esq.             |                                           |
- Aberdeen University.  
 Aberystwyth. National Library of Wales.  
 Adelaide. Public Library of South Australia.  
 Auckland Public Library.  
 Bavarian State Library.  
 British Academy.  
 British Museum.  
 Calcutta. Imperial Library.  
 Cambridge. Corpus Christi College.  
 Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum.  
 Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.  
 Chicago. Caxton Club.  
 Chicago. The Newberry Library.  
 Chicago, University of.  
 Christiania. University Library.  
 Clark University.  
 Copenhagen. Royal Library.  
 Copenhagen, University of.  
 Cornell University Library.

Dresden. Public Library.  
Edinburgh. Signet Library.  
Edinburgh University.  
Egypt Exploration Society.  
Gröningen University.  
Illinois Centennial Commission.  
Illinois State Historical Society.  
The High Commissioner for India.  
India Office.  
Japan. Department of Railways.  
Krakow. Polska Akademja.  
Linotype and Machinery Limited.  
Liverpool University.  
London. School of Economics.  
London. University College.  
London. Dr. Williams' Library  
Messrs. Maggs Bros.  
Manchester. Liberation Society.  
Manchester Museum.  
Manchester. Victoria University.  
Michigan, University of.  
Minnesota Historical Society.  
Montreal. McGill University.  
New York. The Bankers' Trust Company.  
New York Public Library.  
The High Commissioner for New Zealand.  
Ontario, Bureau of Archives.  
Messrs. B. Quaritch, Ltd.  
Saint Andrews University.  
Stockholm. Royal Library.  
Toronto. Canadian Bank of Commerce.  
Toronto, University of.  
Upsala, University of.  
Washington. Library of Congress.  
Washington. Smithsonian Institution.  
Yale University Library.

The gifts which number 1070 volumes, include many works which it would have been difficult if not impossible to obtain through

any other channel. Notably : Buddhaghosa's Commentary of the Sultantapitaka, in Siamese, in 12 vols., 8vo, presented by H.R.H. the Supreme Patriarch of Siam. A collection in 13 volumes of manuscript notes and cuttings made by the late Archdeacon J. H. Rushton, relating to churches in Lancashire and Cheshire, presented by his daughter, Mrs. H. Connor of Chulmleigh. A collection in 161 volumes of the writings of Huguenot and French Protestant divines, chiefly of the seventeenth century, collected by the late Rev. D. A. de Mouilpied, whose death robs the library, and the writer, of a devoted friend and generous benefactor. A selection of the work of the late William Ewart Gladstone in 62 volumes, presented by H. N. Gladstone, Esq., of Harwarden. "The History of Illinois," 1917-20, in 7 vols., 8vo, presented by the Illinois Centennial Commission. Three papyrus documents from Oxyrhynchus, presented by the Egypt Exploration Society.

During the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue further gifts amounting to 1188 volumes have been received for the University of Louvain, carrying the total number of volumes actually contributed under this scheme to the substantial figure of 43,432.

LOUVAIN  
LIBRARY  
RECON-  
STRUC-  
TION.

We take this opportunity for renewing our thanks to the following, as well as to the earlier contributors, who by their generous help have enabled us to obtain these encouraging results.

The list is still open, and we shall welcome further offers of suitable books, so that the ultimate total of the British gift may be not less than 50,000 volumes.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes.)

|                                                                                        |       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| ALCUIN CLUB.                                                                           | (1)   |
| Miss E. M. BARLOW, Marple.                                                             | (1)   |
| The Rev. J. CROSS, Wimborne.                                                           | (2)   |
| The Rev. A. DIXON.                                                                     | (6)   |
| HENRY GUPPY, Manchester.                                                               | (1)   |
| T. W. HALL, Esq., Sheffield.                                                           | (1)   |
| THE HOUSE OF LORDS (with the approval of the LORDS<br>COMMISSIONERS OF H.M. TREASURY). | (900) |
| IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.                                                                   | (1)   |
| W. J. KAYE, Esq., Harrogate.                                                           | (4)   |

- Mrs. A. B. A. OUVRY, Lymington. (168)
- The Right Hon. Lord PHILLIMORE, Henley-on-Thames. (43)
- In memoriam The Rev. H. C. RUSSELL, Rector of Wol-  
laton, Notts. (Per H. B. SAXTON, Esq., Notting-  
ham.) (22)
- H. READE, Esq., London. (2)
- Mrs. RUTSON, Nunnington Hall, Yorkshire. (4)
- MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF THE LATE M. TOMKINSON,  
Esq., J.P. (Per G. T. TOMKINSON, Esq., Kidder-  
minster.) (32)

Through the kindness of Dr. A. A. Mumford we have been enabled to exhibit in the Library an early example of <sup>EARLY</sup> EXCHEQUER an exchequer tally or receipt, and to publish in the <sup>TALLY.</sup> present issue a photographic reproduction of that interesting object, which may also be described as one of the progenitors of our modern cheque with its counterfoil.

We are greatly indebted to Professor J. F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, for having so kindly undertaken, at short notice, and at some personal inconvenience, we fear, to provide us with the illuminating study of the subject of tallies and of the procedure of the exchequer, which accompanies the reproduction.

Professor Willard has been devoting special attention to the subject, and we are most grateful to him for having given us, in this way, the benefit of his researches.

## WHERE WAS VERGIL'S FARM ?<sup>1</sup>

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**O**THER lectures concerned with the poet Vergil which I have submitted to this audience during the last ten years have had, roughly speaking, one predominant purpose, the endeavour to discover something of the personality embodied and concealed for us in the poems which have come down under his name. In one of these, that which dealt with the Youth of Vergil,<sup>2</sup> I followed the late Dr. Warde Fowler in trying to frame some picture of the circumstances under which Vergil's earliest poems were written and in which he was (or may have been) first brought into contact<sup>3</sup> with the future ruler of the world, the young Octavian. But no more than a passing reference was then possible to the old riddle of the precise locality in which Vergil's boyhood was spent. Of course we know that he was a citizen of Mantua : but the ancient Italian townships were all surrounded by a considerable area of land, and the farmers of this were all citizens of the particular town ; and since, as we shall see, the nature of the country on different sides of

<sup>1</sup> This lecture was delivered, with some necessary omissions, at the John Rylands Library on 8 November, 1922. I have to thank my colleagues Mr. G. E. K. Brauholtz, Prof. W. M. Calder and Mr. Donald Atkinson for much valuable help with the inscriptions ; and my debt throughout to the wise and searching criticism of Prof. W. B. Anderson is greater than I can easily express.

<sup>2</sup> *John Ryl. Lib. Bulletin*, II. (1915), p. 212 ; reprinted in *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (1921), p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Warde Fowler supposed that Octavius was with his great-uncle Julius in Transpadane Gaul in the winter of 51-50 B.C. In three inscriptions of Brixia (*C.I.L.*, V., 4305-4307) I now find welcome evidence, on Mommsen's almost certain showing, of a lively and continued interest which the princely youth took in that town in the years 44 and 43 B.C. and after. At some later date he made an aqueduct for them which Tiberius renewed (*ibid.*, 4306).

Mantua is exceedingly different, it is not without interest to discover, if we can, in what particular point of the great sub-Alpine plain was placed the village (*pagnus*) of Andes in which our ancient authorities tell us that Vergil was born. In the lecture of which I have just reminded you mention was made of the noteworthy research of my colleague Mr. G. E. K. Brauhnoltz who, in the course of a long study of the ancient names of North Italy, had found some definite evidence for identifying the village Andes with a particular modern site on which had been found a votive altar dedicated by a member of the gens Vergilia. I could not then discuss the problem further, though when the lecture came to be printed<sup>1</sup> it was necessary to add that Mr. Brauhnoltz's theory at present held the field. Since then fortune<sup>2</sup> has allowed me to visit Mantua and to do a little to explore the sites concerned; and the object of this lecture is to explain the conditions of the literary and geographical problem as clearly as I can and to submit to you further evidence in favour of the conclusion indicated by Mr. Brauhnoltz. Whatever novelty or interest may lie in the discovery must be ascribed entirely to him, since without his careful investigation of the inscriptions of North Italy no one would have thought of the solution which I am concerned to support.

This audience has followed me on so many occasions in studies of a purely literary character, dealing with the best known poems of Vergil, that something like an apology is perhaps due for inviting its attention to a somewhat humbler theme, to wit, a problem of ancient geography of a common kind—to examine what scanty evidence there is bearing on the identification of a particular ancient spot. One thing I will venture to assume, that is, that everyone here is interested in Vergil; and those who are more interested in poetry than in geography will perhaps be not unwilling to face a problem which bears directly upon the interpretation of a fascinating though difficult part of Vergil's poetry, a part, too, which has been frequently censured simply because its critics have been in the dark as to the solution of this problem. If they have adopted any view at all, they have been content to take over

<sup>1</sup> *Great Inheritance*, p. 97 footn.

<sup>2</sup> Really, the liberal gift of the 'Sabbatical' furlough which the University of Manchester makes to its Professors; and the sympathetic help of my friend Mrs. A. W. Benn of Florence, whose automobile rendered possible a visit to a great many points of the region between Mantua and Brescia within the limits of time to which I was bound at the beginning of June, 1922.

from Dante a mediæval tradition of which the origin is difficult to discover, but which, as we shall see, is scarcely to be reconciled with evidence which we do possess from sources almost contemporary with Vergil himself. And even those who are content to regard Vergil's *Eclogues* as merely a collection of not very important allegorical puzzles and who base their admiration for him on his greater poems, will not, perhaps, be unwilling to spend an hour in studying a district which he must have known exceedingly well and traversed scores of times in his schooldays and later, when he studied first at Cremona and then at Milan,—whether or not it contained the site of his father's farm. Here is a section of Kiepert's Map of North Italy (in *C.I.L.*, V.) which shows the situation of the towns and rivers (Fig. 1).

Recall now some of the literary difficulties which make the *Eclogues* of Vergil still full of dark places. So sane a critic as Prof. Henry Nettleship<sup>1</sup> remarked that “the neighbourhood of Mantua notoriously does not suit the description of scenery in the *Eclogues*.” Taken by itself this remark is about as illuminating as if one said that the description of scenery in Shakespeare's plays did not suit the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon. The *Eclogues* are essentially dramatic; and to criticise their author because the scenery which he mentions appears to you different from the scenery of a particular part of a particular country, is just as helpful as it would be to criticise Macbeth because he did not meet the witches on the banks of the Avon, or Hamlet because his father's ghost did not appear (say) on the battlements of Kenilworth Castle. It is obvious that we must enquire what is the background implied in each separate Eclogue before we can judge whether it is or is not consistent. In the Second

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Lives of Vergil* (1879), p. 49, where he alludes to a remark of Prof. H. A. J. Munro. But in *Journ. Philol.*, VI. (1876), p. 40, the passage which Nettleship no doubt had in mind, all that Munro says is this: “When I was at Tarentum a few months ago, it struck me how much better the scenery, flora, and silva of those parts suited many of the *Eclogues* than did the neighbourhood of Mantua.” The poem of Propertius, Book II. (III.), 34, which Munro was illustrating, alludes to *Eclogues* II., III., VII., IX., and (especially often) to X., to the *Georgics*, and to the coming *Æneid*; and describes Vergil as singing of Thyrsis and Daphnis *umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi*, i.e. at Tarentum. Munro suggests very happily that the *villula Sironis* [which Vergil and his father bought when expelled from their own, *Catal.*, X., cf. *Georg.*, IV., 125] may have been in that neighbourhood.



FIG. I. SECTION OF KIEPERT'S MAP OF GALLIA TRANSPADANA

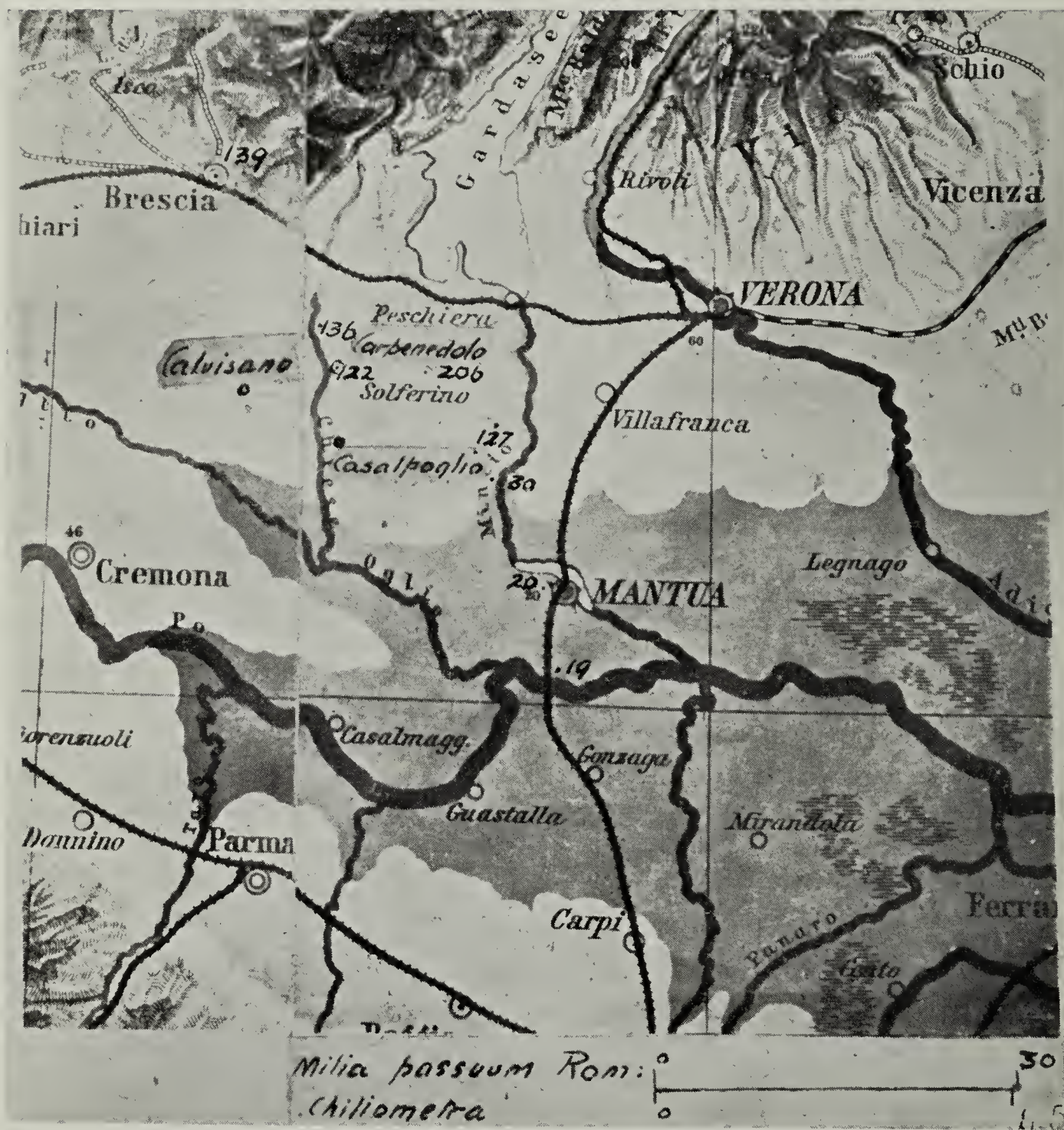


FIG. 2. BATHYGRAPHIC MAP OF THE MANTUAN DISTRICT

Eclogue, for example, the speaker expressly declares<sup>1</sup> that he has 'a thousand sheep wandering on Sicilian mountains'; therefore they must be in Sicily; therefore it seems hardly worth while to complain that they are not in Mantua! Or take the VIIIth Eclogue, which contains two separate poems: in the first the recurring refrain speaks of Arcadian song (*Maenaios versus*) and the whole atmosphere is Greek; in the second half not merely the names but the whole subject is Theocritean, and the herbs used for the incantation come from Pontus: why should anyone want to discover scenery at Mantua in such a composition? The Xth and VIth Eclogues, as Skutsch<sup>2</sup> has shown, have no one scene; each of them follows Vergil's friend Gallus over the whole poetical world, taking small pictures, not to say snapshots, of his poetry, now in Arcadia, now in Thrace, now in Crete; besides that more shadowy region of the universe in which Pyrrha and Deucalion threw their stones. The IVth Eclogue, as we know, is concerned with building a new world, with all the glories of every land newly set therein. You see, therefore, that in five<sup>3</sup> out of the ten Eclogues the question of local scenery simply does not arise and it is merely darkening counsel to talk of it.

But what the critics, no doubt, do mean is this: that in the *Eclogues* where reference is definitely made to North Italian conditions, for instance in the Ist, they have been unable to discover any features of scenery which they can identify with what they have seen in the neighbourhood of Mantua. How far they have explored the region of Mantua they do not say. Things that are "notorious" are commonly taken to need no verification.

But what other Eclogues besides the First refer to Italian scenery? The Ninth, which also deals with Vergil's farm, and in which Menalcas, as we shall see (p. 199) represents Vergil; the Seventh, in which Melibœus is invited<sup>4</sup> to rest with his friends on the banks of the Mincius; and (less definitely) the Third and Fifth, in both of

<sup>1</sup> L. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, cc. 1 and 2, the results of which are briefly stated in *Great Inheritance*, pp. 68, 78 ff.

<sup>3</sup> That is, in *Eclogues*, II., IV., VI., VIII., X. It cannot be an accident that these are all even numbers. Vergil, in his silent way, has chosen from his early work five poems with a local setting, and five with a foreign setting, and arranged them alternately.

<sup>4</sup> L. 13.

which some one called Menalcas appears ; in the Third Melibœus, and the Roman statesman Pollio are mentioned ; in the Fifth Menalcas claims the authorship of the Second and Third ; and the Fifth is generally and rightly<sup>1</sup> regarded as a lament for Julius Cæsar. We should therefore naturally expect (though we could not demand) that such scenery as is mentioned in these two, the Third and Fifth, would be such as the poet thought natural to scenes not remote from parts of the world which Menalcas and Pollio and Cæsar's friends might be supposed to frequent. But it is clear that our chief concern must be with the First, the Seventh and Ninth, in which Rome and the Mincius, Mantua, and Cremona are all definitely named. The question is whether it is true that the neighbourhood of Mantua does not suit the details of the scenery in these five local Eclogues. If this criticism is true Vergil has made a sad mess. That is what his Oxonian critics seem to take particular pleasure in supposing. What I shall try to show in this lecture, partly by means of typical photographs,<sup>2</sup> is that although the indications of scenery which these poems contain do not harmonise with the traditional site of Andes, namely, the little village of Pietole about three miles S.E. of Mantua, they do harmonise remarkably well with the neighbourhood of Calvisano, which is indicated by the results of Mr. Braunholtz's enquiry.

To appreciate the evidence properly we must first note briefly what information we have from sources outside Vergil's own writings. His biographers agree that the village of Andes was included in the township of Mantua ; but only one of the ancient biographies, namely that attributed to Probus, mentions its actual distance from that town. Of this biography Henry Nettleship writes :<sup>3</sup> " This fragment, so far as it goes, is so good that we can only wish more had survived." And he conjectures that it was " compiled independently from the same materials as those used by Suetonius." I see no reason what-

<sup>1</sup> On this see now the penetrating and convincing study by Mr. D. L. Drew in *Class. Quart.*, XVI. (1922), p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Let me record my cordial gratitude to Prof. Comm. F. Carli, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Brescia, who kindly arranged for procuring those of the Carpenedolo ridge ; and even more to Count Teodoro Lechi, of Brescia and Calvisano, to whose generous and discriminating interest in the question I owe all the rest (save that of Pietole which was taken by my wife in 1908).

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, p. 31.

ever to doubt Nettleship's judgment; for the biography is one of the only two<sup>1</sup> that altogether exclude the element of fable; and the only one whose chronology, so far as it goes, is both precise and correct. It must therefore have been drawn from sources current in the first century of the Christian era; indeed we may reasonably think it was ultimately derived from the great scholar and critic Valerius Probus whose name it bears. Probus flourished under Nero and later, that is, from 56 to 88 A.D., and Nettleship writes that he is "inclined to assign to him without question the first place among commentators on Vergil."<sup>2</sup>

Now Probus tells us<sup>3</sup> that Andes was thirty miles from Mantua. That means, of course, thirty Roman miles which is roughly equivalent to 45 kilometres, or twenty-eight English miles. This appeared to Nettleship to be too far from Mantua to be true; but his only ground for the objection is that Mantua was a small city. So, however, were many other townships in Italy whose territory extended wider afield than thirty Roman miles; the hamlet of Hostilia on the Po, thirty-three Roman miles from Verona, was nevertheless a *vicus* of Verona (see Tac., *Hist.*, 3, 9; Plin., *H.N.*, 21, § 73). This was set out clearly in 1872 (*C.I.L.*, V., p. 317) by Mommsen whom Nettleship<sup>4</sup> (in 1879) might have consulted before attacking the text of Probus on so flimsy a ground. Mommsen, who filled many interesting pages of the *Corpus* with the results of his special study of the confines of the Italian townships, found it impossible from the inscriptional evidence to determine precisely where the boundaries of Mantua ended<sup>5</sup> and those

<sup>1</sup> Or three, if the curt record of his birth, death, and epitaph, which Diehl (*Vitae Verg.*, p. 45) labels 'Filargyrius No. 2' be called a biography.

<sup>2</sup> See further Note A, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitae Vergilianae*, Diehl (Bonn, 1911), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> And still more Nissen in 1902 (*Ital. Landeskunde*, II., 1, p. 204 footn.).

<sup>5</sup> See Mommsen on *C.I.L.*, V., 3827 and *ibid.*, pp. 327, 406, 440. Observe also that in one of his sadly abridged accounts of the seizure (carried out by Octavius Musa) of the Mantuan lands, Servius (*Dan. ad Ecl.*, IX., 7) speaks of the process as extending 'over fifteen miles of Mantuan territory.' Unluckily it is far from clear whether this measurement is of the land confiscated, or of the land left to Mantua; nor even in which direction it was taken: *usque ad eum autem locum perticam limitarem Octavius Musa porrexerat, limitator ab Augusto datus, id est, per XV. m.p. agri Mantuani*. Was Musa's limit a line drawn straight from Cremona to Mantua and somewhere touching the Vergilian property? Or at

of Cremona, Verona, or Brixia began ; but he entirely accepts the statement of Probus, and we are bound to do the same. On every critical ground it is improbable that so precise a statement on such a matter would be invented ; with other details given by the same authority, such as the age at which Vergil wrote the *Eclogues*, and the value of the property with which he was endowed by Augustus, it seems to come from very early sources and ultimately from Vergil himself. On this evidence alone Mommsen rejected the tradition which identified Andes with Pietole. Other grounds for the same rejection will soon appear.

Another source of evidence, to which Mr. Braunholtz has drawn attention, is in inscriptions containing the name of Vergil's father's family, the gens Vergilia and that of his mother's, the gens Magia. There are only eight or nine occurrences of the name Vergilius or Vergilia among the many thousand ancient inscriptions from the whole of North Italy. Four of these are from townships remote from Mantua ; three are from Verona and one (*C.I.L.*, V. 4137 now in the museum at Brescia, the ancient Brixia) is from Calvisano ; a possible ninth occurrence we will consider shortly (p. 194).

The inscription from Calvisano is on a handsome altar and runs thus :—

Matronabus  
Vergilia C. f. Vera  
pro Munatia T. f.  
Catulla V. S. L. M.

In the atmosphere of the Brescia Museum, where it is now, some of the face has unluckily crumbled ; but when Mommsen saw it, it was complete except for the last *S* of the word *matronabus* and three letters in the word *Catulla*. The dedication is one of a common type, in which one woman pays a vow for the deliverance of another from danger. In a great number of cases the author of the vow is a mother,

right angles to this line ? Or merely, as *ad eum locum* should properly mean, from Cremona to the Vergilian farm itself, or at least to the point described in this line of the *Eclogue* (*qua se subducere colles incipiunt*) ? In any case, as Prof. W. B. Anderson points out to me, the statement definitely implies that the original territory was more than fifteen miles in breadth, in one direction at all events, and suggests that it was considerably broader.

and the occasion is that her daughter is in her turn bearing a child. It seems probable that this was the case in the present instance because of the deities to whom the dedication is made. The *Matronae* were Keltic deities, whose name suggests that they would be worshipped by mothers.<sup>1</sup>

Let me remind you that in Roman nomenclature a married woman retains the Gentile name of her father. Thus the wife of Marcus Tullius Cicero was called Terentia because her father's name was Terentius ; and Cicero's daughter before and after her marriage was called Tullia because her father was Marcus Tullius Cicero. Probably then this inscription was dedicated by a daughter of the Vergilian family who married into the Munatian family and whose daughter is therefore called Munatia. Now, when I add that Calvisano is exactly thirty Roman miles from Mantua, whereas Pietole is less than four, you have the first part of the case for Calvisano. This inscription of course does not prove that the Vergil family actually lived at Calvisano ; nor can the Vergilia who made the vow have been a descendant of the poet, since he died unmarried : what it does prove is that some woman member of that family, probably after her marriage, lived near enough to Calvisano to make a votive offering there, probably for her daughter's safe delivery, and probably, if not certainly, in the first century of the Empire ; for that is the period indicated by the style in which the letters of the inscription are cut. In *C.I.L.*, V. 7567 (from Hasta, about ninety English miles to the W.) two distinguished Vergilii appear in the same period, one of them a *præfectus Drusi Caesaris Germanici filii*.

But the altar from Calvisano is not all the evidence to which Mr. Brauholtz appeals. Consider now another inscription erected by a member of the gens of Vergil's mother,<sup>2</sup> namely Publius Magius. If there are any students who are inclined to think that all Latin

<sup>1</sup> Three other dedications to them appear from villages in the neighbourhood (V., 4134, 4159, 4160), and two from Brescia (*ibid.*, 4246, 4247) ; of these, the first, like that from Calvisano, is dedicated for one woman's sake by another woman, her sister, and one other by a woman ; two by men, and one is indeterminate. [Other Keltic cults, existing near Brixia, are mentioned by Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, II., 1, p. 199. W. B. A.].

<sup>2</sup> This name is given by nearly all the ancient biographies, though in some of them (by a very common mediæval corruption) it is spelt *Maia*.

inscriptions are easy to translate, let me invite their special attention to this one :—

V      F  
P. Magius Manl  
sibi et Asseliae M. f.  
Sabinae uxori  
et Satriae M. f.  
Tertiae  
Cassiae P. f. Secundae  
matri

That is to say, ‘Publius Magius the son of Manius erected in his lifetime this tomb for himself and for Asselia Sabina, daughter of Marcus, his wife.’ There is no doubt whatever about the meaning of the inscription so far ; and these first four lines are all <sup>1</sup> that bear directly upon the question we are discussing.

<sup>1</sup> The rest is more difficult. I was at first inclined to render it, ‘who was also the mother of Satria T. (d. of M.) and Cassia Sec. (d. of P.),’ taking the *et* after *uxori* as connecting that word with the final *matri* (just as in *C.I.L.*, V., 3710 a grand-daughter, joining in an epitaph set up by her grandfather and uncles, pays her tribute *aviae et nutrici sue*), and supposing that Satria and Cassia were the daughters of Asselia by two previous husbands and therefore step-daughters of P. Magius, no *et* being needed between their names, though it was felt to be wanted between those of other members of the family who were not in the same category. Parallels for this use and this omission of *et* in the same epitaph appear frequently, e.g. from Verona in *C.I.L.*, V., 3440 (three wives and three sons but only one *et*, and that stands between the two groups) 3797 and 3822 ; from Cremona in *C.I.L.*, V., 4106. We may note that in V., 4073 a lady named Furia, from Mantua, erects a tomb for herself and her three husbands.

But Prof. W. M. Calder, to whose friendly criticism I am greatly indebted, points out that by the practice regular in Latin epitaphs the word *matri* at the end with the name immediately preceding it ought to mean the mother of P. Magius himself who is the author of the monument ; and further that the last person of the family group who is mentioned on such epitaphs is often added without any preceding *et* as in *C.I.L.*, V., 4460 (from Brixia), where a man erects a tomb *Sibi et . . . uxori et . . . fratri et . . . patri, Antoniae Catullae matri*. Two epitaphs from Verona (*ibid.*, 3673 and 3797) show exactly a parallel arrangement save that the last person mentioned in the first was the author’s *contubernalis*, in the second his *uxor*. On the pattern of these inscriptions we should expect, if my first interpretation were correct, not *matri* but *privignis*.

These examples from the same neighbourhood carry great weight, but for the puzzling appearance of ‘Satria Tertia the daughter of Marcus,’

Now this inscription which was put upon an elaborate and rather costly monument by a member of the family of Vergil's mother, Publius Magius, was found at a little place called Casalpoglio on the river Chiese, only 12 km. ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  English miles) distant from Calvisano, and a little to the S.W. of the direct road from Calvisano to Mantua. These two inscriptions do not prove definitely that the branches of the Magian gens and the Vergilian gens which were allied to produce the poet were identical with the branches of these families which we find near Calvisano and at Casalpoglio; though the period to which both inscriptions belong, if we may trust the character of the lettering, is not likely to be later than the first century A.D., perhaps not later than the first half of it. But if it was not these two branches that produced Vergil, it is certainly a most remarkable coincidence that we should

without any mention of her relation to Magius, between his wife and mother. Of this Prof. Calder writes to me: "As this is a family tomb, Satria probably lived in the house of Magius and may have been a poor relation of his or his wife's. The occurrence of such names on sepulchral inscriptions, with no term of relationship attached, is common, and epigraphists are familiar with the confusion which they introduce into otherwise well-ordered *stemmata*."

We may note in passing that it is quite possible that Satria was homeless when P. Magius took her in—many children were in the generation after the civil wars, and the inscription may well be Augustan—but improbable that she was poor; for from *C.I.L.*, V., 4049 from Medole, only a mile or two from Casalpoglio, we find that a *Satria M. f. Tertia*—who may well be the same person—was buried not with Magius but with *P. Catius Callaui f.* (presumably her husband) and other members of his family. And a few miles further South near Betriacum, on the line between Mantuan and Cremonese territory, a *M. Satrius Maior* in the second century erected a statue to Victory in honour of the two Emperors (Marcus Aurelius) Antoninus and Verus. The Satrian house was clearly one of some distinction.

But to return: I now regard Prof. Calder's view of our inscription not merely as far the more probable but as completely established, because I have found other examples of a person, whose relation to the author of the inscription is not stated, being thus interpolated in the list of his relatives among the inscriptions of the district; e.g. at Verona (*C.I.L.*, V., 3529 and 3742). The district is rich in family tombs.

My friend Mr. J. Peacock of the John Rylands Library, reminds me of the famous epitaph in Salisbury Cathedral attributed to Ben Jonson in which Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, is described as 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.' But Salisbury is a long way from Calvisano.

[This style can be paralleled on ancient *metrical* epitaphs: on a prose epitaph, especially a Latin one, such a deviation from the normal form would be made clearly, explicitly, and unmistakably. W. M. C.]

find traces of them in two villages so near to one another, and that one of the villages should be at exactly the distance from Mantua which Probus tells us was the distance of Vergil's farm from that same town.

It is time to say something about the tradition that Dante<sup>1</sup> accepted which placed the site of Andes in the modern Pietole, two or three miles S.E. of Mantua. So far as I can find, the origin of this tradition has not been traced; but on the strength of it a monument to Vergil was erected at Pietole not many years ago, which of course to every Italian eye is proof conclusive that that is the place where Vergil was born! In Mantua I fear that Mr. Braunscholtz and I shall be counted mere Bolsheviks, because we hold, in view of the evidence, that we are bound to do all we legally can to explode that handsome column. Now what was the origin of this belief of Dante? I suggest that it lay in an inscription<sup>2</sup> which is now lost but which the fifteenth century scholar Jucundus says was on a stone 'beneath the altar of the (*or* 'a') large church at Pietole'; and slightly later another scholar, by name Pacedianus, said that he copied it when he stayed for some days at Mantua in 1517. Mommsen held it to be merely a forgery, but on what seem to be hardly sufficient grounds; and if this inscription, which contains the name of one P. Vergilius and which Jucundus says was found at Pietole, existed there in Dante's time, it would be very natural for people to take it as evidence for identifying Pietole with Andes. Jucundus gives it thus:—

*P. Vergilio P. f.*

*Pont. Max.*

*Sabin.*

Even if Jucundus copied the text correctly, the stone must have been a mere fragment, because the last line contains part of a name which

<sup>1</sup> In *Purg.*, 18. 83 Vergil is called

quell' ombra gentil per cui si noma  
Pietola più che villa Mantovana

'that noble spirit for whose sake Pietola is more renowned than the town of Mantua.'

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.*, V. 3827 (*b*). [If the inscription, whether ancient or not, was actually in existence in Dante's time, it will afford, as you say, an explanation of his belief. And if it actually existed, as Jucundus says, in the fifteenth century, it is not likely that it was a forgery but practically certain that it was ancient. W. B. A.]

cannot belong to the person mentioned in the first line, because something else intervenes. Now Mommsen thought that the (supposed) forger based this inscription upon another<sup>1</sup> which is said to have been found on the bank of the river Tartarus near Verona. The nearest point of that river to Pietole is twelve miles away. Well, let us suppose that the would-be forger of the Pietole inscription traversed the twelve miles with his forging tools,—or, if he was content with a less literal kind of forging, that he sat in his study, sharpening his quill to increase the number of Latin inscriptions which he would boast of having “found”—in either case, what had he to go upon? The Tartarus inscription as recorded by Cyriacus, a scholar who visited Verona in 1433 or 1434 A.D. and made a collection of its inscriptions, runs :—

*M. Vergilio M. f.  
Anthioco Unigenito  
sibi et Pamphilo*

Now if the forger could invent the former of these inscriptions with nothing but the latter to go upon we must at least credit him with a vigorous imagination. The surprising<sup>2</sup> *Pont. Max.* of the second line is surely more likely to be either genuine or a misreading, than a pure invention. And if the third line is what Jucundus had before him, it contains a detail which, to my mind, goes a long way to establish the genuineness of the inscription, because it is a detail which the would-be forger could not have arrived at for himself. The cognomen of the some one mentioned in this inscription of Jucundus, presumably the man who erected the monument, is, as you see, *Sabinus*. Now

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.*, V. 3827 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar became Pontifex Maximus at Rome in 48 B.C. and after him Lepidus; afterwards the office was one of the Emperor's prerogatives. That this should be the only record of its having been held before 48 B.C. by any member of the family into which Vergil was born would be a wildly improbable surmise. But there were Pontifices at Mantua (that they had some social standing is shown by *C.I.L.*, V., 4057 where they are named as recipients of a fine to be paid if certain property is misused) and the chief of them may have been called Pontifex Maximus. There is one other example of an Italian *municipium* with such an office, Vibo Valentia, in the extreme south (see Mommsen on *C.I.L.*, X., 49 and 50); and priests were probably numerous in a town so largely Etruscan as we know Mantua to have been (see e.g. Verg., *Aen.*, X., 203, *Tusco de sanguine uires*). Hence the phrase in the inscription may be quite genuine.

we have just seen that a family whose cognomen was Sabinus was allied to the family which produced Vergil's mother ; for Publius Magius (of Calvisano) had to wife Asselia Sabina. It is therefore not in the least surprising to find that the Vergilian family which was allied with the Magian family should also be associated with the Sabinus family. These three inscriptions taken together seem to me to make a strong case against mere coincidence, and for the genuineness of the Pietole inscription. We need not therefore follow Mommsen in holding as he did that Jucundus or his informant forged it out of nothing and that Pacedianus simply lied when he said that he had himself seen the inscription at Mantua. I believe that some member of the Vergilian family at some time was honoured (or possibly buried), at Pietole ; but not that Pietole was the ancient Andes, the site of Vergil's own farm.

We have seen, then, what evidence there is outside Vergil's own writings for determining the question. We now come to grips with the most important part of our subject, namely the literary evidence from the *Eclogues* themselves, to see what kind of scenery we ought to look for. Then we shall be ready to consider a few pictures of the scenery of Pietole and Calvisano and to judge for ourselves how far Mr. Brauholtz's theory is supported by the actual facts.

As we have already seen, only five *Eclogues* can be called into evidence, namely the IIIrd, Vth, VIIth, and the two which concern Vergil's farm, the Ist and IXth. There are two points in the Third that may be regarded as indicating features in the scenery of the district. First, that a group of old beech trees (*veteres fagos*, l. 12) seem to be mentioned as a well-known landmark, and are naturally identified with the same group also mentioned as a landmark in the IXth ; and secondly the last line<sup>1</sup> of this IIIrd *Eclogue*,

Claudite iam riuos, pueri ; sat prata biberunt,

definitely places the scene in some region where irrigation of the fields regularly took place by means of opening and shutting sluices in the main water channels to feed smaller rivulets running through the meadows.

<sup>1</sup> This aspect of the line was suggested to me by my late friend, Prof. Charles E. Vaughan, when, in his last illness, I showed him among the other photographs that from which Fig. 5 below is taken.

In the Vth, again, there is not much that will serve our purpose—beech trees, hazels, elms, and repeated mention of an *antrum* or cave to which the two shepherds turn to find shelter from the heat ;<sup>1</sup> cliffs too (*rupes*, l. 63) are mentioned, and the whole district is described as *montibus in nostris* (l. 8).

In the VIIth again there is little to our purpose but the river Mincius (l. 13) ; note however the bees swarming in the oak-tree. There is mention also of chestnut trees (l. 53) which do not grow freely on the plain, and some reference to hills and mountains (ll. 56, 58), as normal parts of the scenery described by each of the shepherd poets in their competing quatrains. But one cannot be certain that this scenery is necessarily connected with that implied by the mention of the Mincius in the prefatory passage.

We come to the kernel of the matter in the two Eclogues dealing with Vergil's farm, the Ist and the IXth. In the First Eclogue, as we all remember, Melibœus, who has been expelled from his farm, takes a sad leave of Tityrus, who has secured the continued possession of his by visiting Rome and obtaining a favourable response to his petition from some half-divine young ruler. This has been universally interpreted to mean that Vergil was threatened with expulsion, and then relieved from the danger by some appeal to Octavian.

But in the IXth Eclogue Menalcas is described as having addressed an appeal to Varus on behalf of Mantua which was<sup>2</sup> in danger through being too near to the luckless Cremona :—

Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,  
Mantua, uae, miserae nimium uicina Cremonae,  
Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to note that though the mention of a cave was part of the pastoral scene in Theocritus, appearing in several *Idylls*, his *ἀντρον* is never what it always is in the *Eclogues*, a noon-day place of shade. It is the actual home of Polyphemus (xi. 44), of Cheiron (vii. 149), and of Menalcas (ix. 15), who boasts of its warmth in winter ; and a secret haunt of lovers (iii. 6). Of the serious use made of this Sicilian detail by Apollonius Rhodius and of its tragic adaptation in *Æneid*, IV., I have spoken elsewhere (*Great Inheritance*, p. 146). Hence we must not build too much on the word in the *Eclogues* ; but it does seem to suggest that the scenery includes at least one hill-side in which a rocky shelter could be found, not a region of flat land, all meadows and swamps.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 27-29.

Further we learn that although it had been said that Menalcas had saved his property by his poetry, nevertheless the report was untrue ; the truth was that a stranger held the property and that both Menalcas and his servant Moeris had barely escaped with their lives. The question whether this failure of the poet's appeal for protection preceded or followed the favourable answer of Octavian described in the first Eclogue (‘*pascite ut ante boues, pueri, submitte tauros*’) has puzzled commentators from the earliest times.<sup>1</sup>

But it is not our concern now to determine in what particular month of 41 B.C. Vergil left the farm near Mantua which beyond all doubt had been his home for the first twenty-nine years of his life ; what we want to discover is where that home precisely was.

Let us turn, then, to the local descriptions which these two Eclogues give us. In the First there are three different pictures, two of which are fairly complete. The slightest of the three sketches is that of the scene in which the conversation of the Eclogue takes place. Melibœus comes upon Tityrus while Tityrus is lying in the shade of a spreading beech-tree ; and when the conversation ends Tityrus points to the tops of farmhouses in the distance which he says were beginning to show their evening smoke ; and points also to the ‘lengthening shadows’ of the ‘high mountains.’ Just now we saw that the other three local Eclogues all speak of hills or mountains. We learn further that both of the shepherds live near some small town, whither they used to take their lambs and cheese for sale (ll. 22 and 35-36). The other two sketches are respectively of the farm in which Tityrus is going to stay (ll. 48-59, 80-82), and of that which the less fortunate Melibœus has to leave behind him (ll. 69 and 75 ff.).

The farm which Melibœus is leaving boasts of pears and vines and a green cave in which he could lie at length watching his sheep some distance off on a bushy slope, to which they seem to be ‘hanging’ by their feet, a description understood at once by anyone who has seen from a distance sheep browsing on a steep hill-side. The same sheep, we learn, at other times feed on clover and the young willow shoots. That is the farm which Melibœus has to leave ; and it is clear that it is meant to include some stretch of hilly land. It is also clear that he is a near neighbour of Tityrus, who represents Vergil.

But what of the farm of Tityrus himself ? This is described, in

<sup>1</sup> See Note B at the end of this paper.

Vergil's way, in somewhat modest colours. It is 'big enough for you' says Melibœus (l. 48), 'however much the grazing ground may be cumbered with bare stones or muddy reeds.' We learn further that it had a willow hedge beloved by the bees, a lofty elm where the pigeons and turtle doves cooed, and a cliff under the shade of which the vine-dresser could rest and 'sing to the breezes' (*hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras*).

We see then from the mention of the bare stones and the cliff that this farm of Vergil is represented as containing at least some portion of rocky country and some land bordering on a reedy river. Other lines tell us of pine-trees and more than one stream; for Tityrus will enjoy the coolness of leafy shadow (l. 52) among 'familiar rivers and sacred springs.'

What does the Ninth Eclogue add to the picture? Consider the lines (7-10) describing the estate which Menalcas was thought to have saved. These lines are quoted by Quintilian, who tells us that they are literally true except that Menalcas means <sup>1</sup> Vergil,

Certe equidem audieram qua se subducere colles  
Incipiunt mollique iugum demittere cliuo  
Vsque ad aquam et ueteres, umbrosa cacumina, fagos,  
Omnia carminibus uestrum seruasse Menalcan.

Here then is Vergil's own description of the land which he could not save. It ran some distance—this is implied in the words *omnia* and *usque*—from the point 'where the hills begin to withdraw and let their ridge sink into the plain by a gentle slope, right down to the water and to the group of beeches, once tall trees now broken with age.' Here we have again the ancient beeches which we noted in the Third Eclogue. It must have been a spot which made some impression on Vergil's boyish mind, partly, no doubt, because it marked the end of his father's farm. We learn also that the trees stood somewhere near water, though what water we do not yet know.

The only other point that appears clearly from this Eclogue is that the farmers of Mantua were suffering because Mantua was too near a neighbour to Cremona. This does not prove, but it certainly suggests, that the farms which Mantua was losing lay on the side of Mantua nearest to Cremona. No one has ever supposed that Mantua lost all

<sup>1</sup> Quintil., VIII., 6, 47; and so said Menalcas himself in Eclogue V, 86-7.

its land. Moreover when Vergil was looking back, in the little poem (*Catal.*, X.) about the *Villula Sironis*,<sup>1</sup> he speaks of it as having to replace for his father both Mantua and Cremona. Now Pietole is about 5 km. to the S.E. of Mantua, i.e. on the far side from Cremona ; but Calvisano is nearly equidistant from the two towns, and a little nearer to Cremona.

Now we may consider the actual topography of the district. First of all let me show you a map<sup>2</sup> which gives a rough idea of the hilly and the marshy territory by marking the heights above sea-level (Fig. 2).

Mantua is only about 20 metres or 66 ft. above the sea. It is almost surrounded by two large lagoons and the whole district from there to the Po, the district in which Pietole lies, abounds in ditches and pools of practically stagnant water, because, as the map shows, the level of the water in the Po at the nearest point, is 19 metres above sea level, so that there is hardly any fall at all between Mantua and the river, a distance of 14 km. (some nine English miles).

Fig. 3 is a photograph of the so-called “ fondo Virgilio ” at Pietole. The country is bare and monotonous, level meadows shut off from stagnant pools by artificial dykes. In no direction are there any hills to be seen ; both Alps and Appenines are far out of sight. If there were anything that could be called a ‘ cave ’ near Pietole, it could only be a sort of rat’s hole, hollowed in some muddy bank of ditch or dyke. It is quite clear, therefore, that unless all the descriptions that we have followed in the local Eclogues are to be taken as mere inventions, Pietole cannot be identified with the ancient Andes ; and it is difficult to suppose that the poet was merely romancing when he described, with a definite and practical purpose, the extent of his own farm.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See further p. 186 footn.

<sup>2</sup> This map was very kindly prepared for me by my colleague, Mr. W. H. Barker, Reader in Geography in the University of Manchester, from H. Haack’s *Alpenländer*. Unfortunately the photograph fails to make clear the difference of tint which in the original marked the land immediately S. and W. of Brescia (over 200 m. level) from the next lower level (over 100 m.).

<sup>3</sup> After this lecture was delivered Prof. W. B. Anderson drew my attention to an interesting note of the veteran scholar, epigraphist and explorer Sir W. M. Ramsay in Middleton and Mills’ *Student’s Companion to Latin Authors* (London, 1896), p. 148 : “ Virgil’s farm was certainly not at Pietole, which is two miles south of Mantua on the flat plain ; for

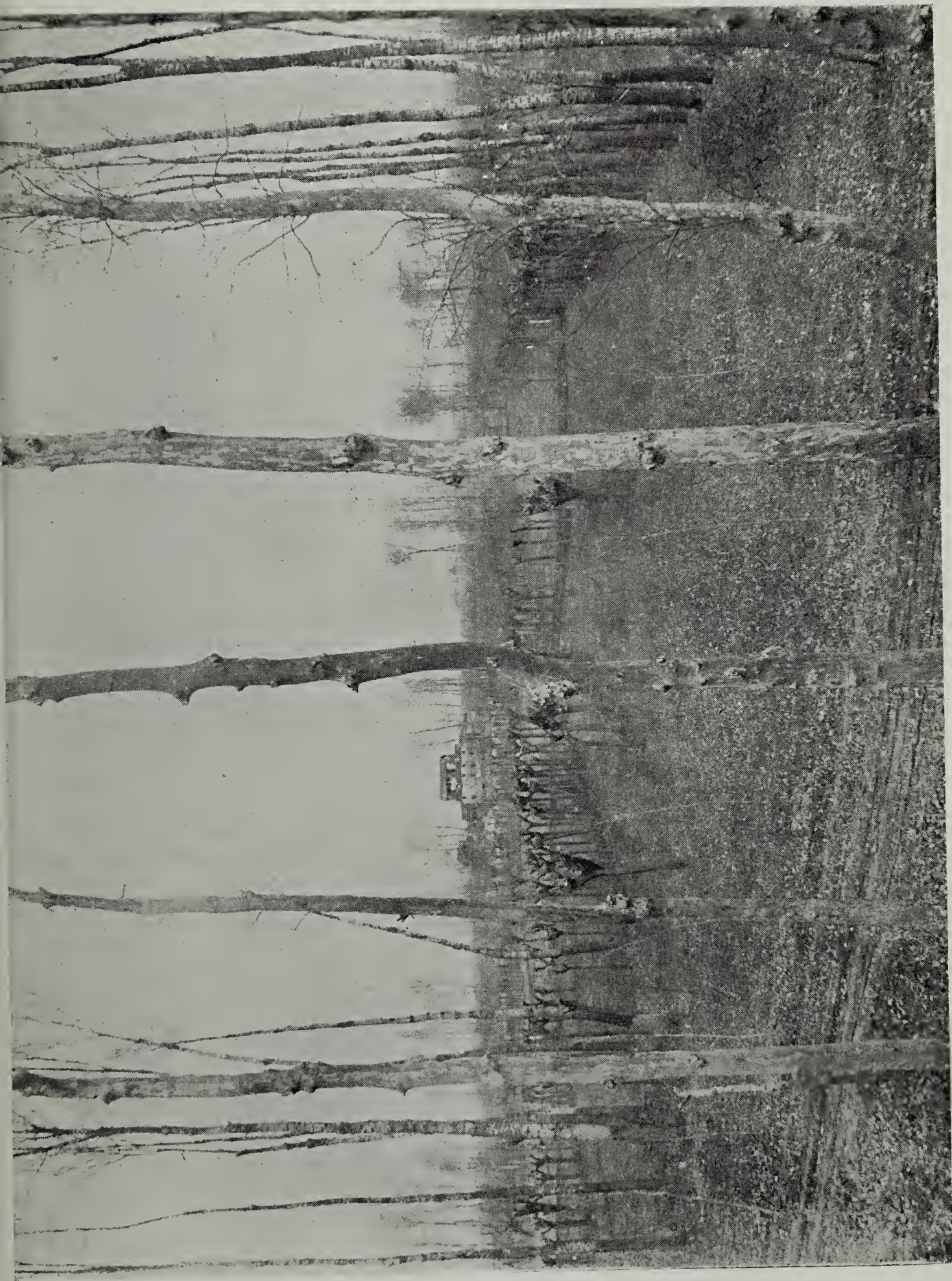


FIG. 3. THE SO-CALLED FONDO VIRGILIO AT PIETOLE



FIG. 4. ROADSIDE STREAM, SOUTH OF CARPENEDOLO

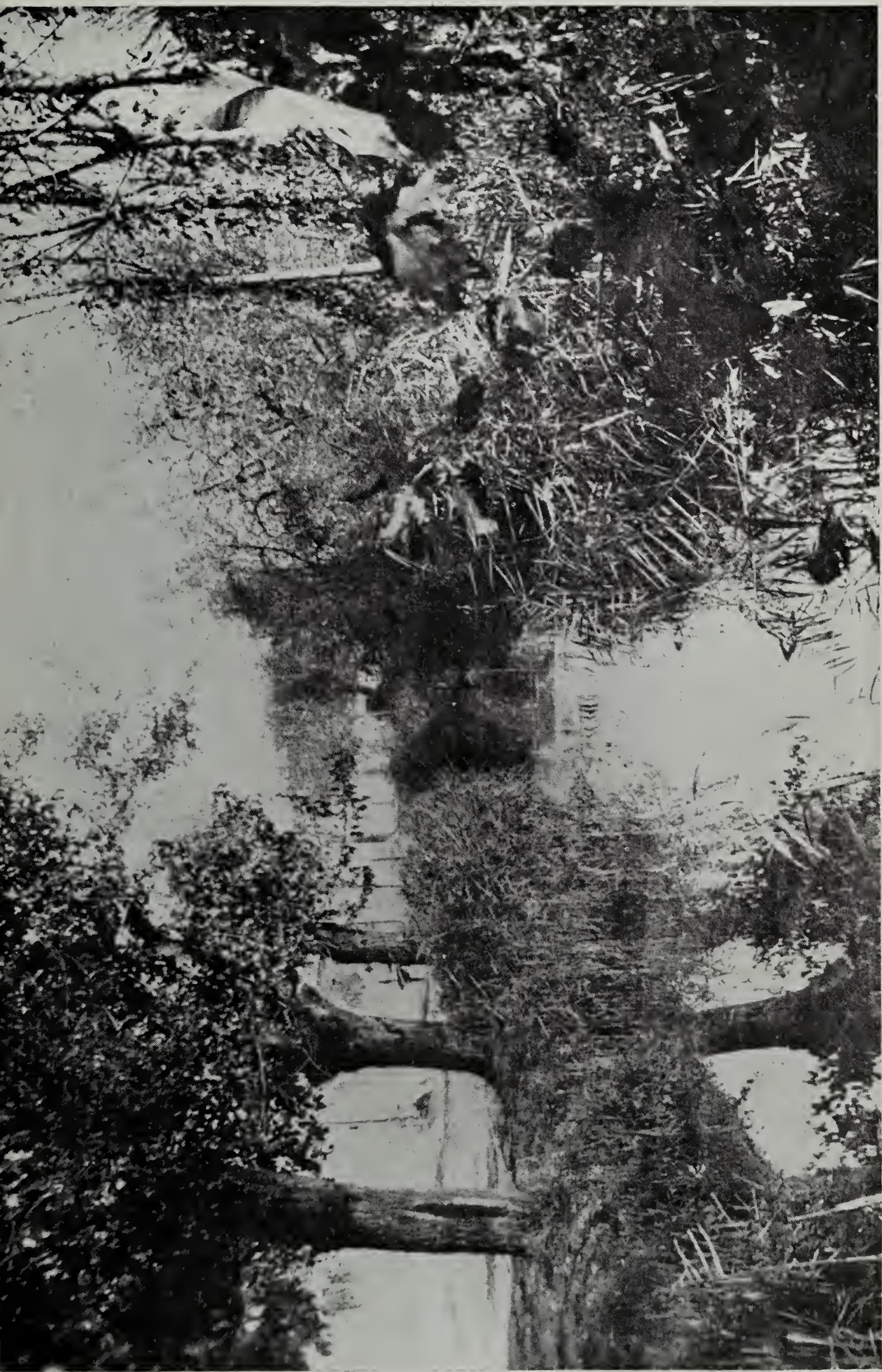


FIG. 5. ROADSIDE BROOK, SOUTH OF CARPENEDOLO, WITH THE WATER FALLING OVER A SMALL DAM



FIG. 6. THE RIDGE RUNNING EAST FROM CARPENEDOLO

But the land steadily rises the moment you pass north-westwards from Mantua. In a mile or two you pass above the 25 metres level, and in a few more, above the 100 metres level, which means that you have been ascending all the way. By the time that you have reached Brescia you have passed the 200 metres level (660 ft.) so that the ascent has been continued. The contrast is immediately perceptible as you travel, not merely in the clearness and freshness of the air, but to the more trustworthy sense of vision, in the absence of swamps and the sudden life which appears in all the little streams, often flowing by the side of the road. The water runs quickly over bright pebbles, except where it is broken by a sluice holding it up into a pool in order to turn it into fields at the side, just as we have seen described in Vergil's Third Eclogue.

Here are two photographs of these road-side streams (Figs. 4 and 5).

What of the hills? As we went north-west from Mantua you may be sure I kept a keen look-out for the first sight of a hill. The first that appeared was a ridge, of which Fig. 6 is a photograph.

This ridge, in the shape of the letter L, runs first roughly from

(1) the farm was a long way from the city (*Ecl.* 9, 59); (2) it was beside hills (*ibid.*, 7 ff.); (3) woods were on or by it (cf. Donatus' [phrase of Vergil's father's prudent policy] *silvis coemendis*; and the flat, fertile valley was certainly not abandoned to forests. After exploring the country I felt clear that the farm was on the west bank of the Mincio, opposite Valeggio, where the northern hills sink to the dead level of the Po valley."

Guided therefore by purely topographical considerations, without regard to the statement of Probus, and with no knowledge of the Calvisano inscription, Prof. Ramsay determined on a site well to the north of Mantua and not very far (about 12 miles) east of Carpenedolo.

[Vergil's own description (*G.*, II., 198-202) of the confiscated land is worth noting :—

Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum  
Pascentem niueos herboso flumine cynos.  
Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt,  
Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus  
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

The *flumen* must be the Mincius, as Nissen says (*Ital. Landeskunde*, II., 1, p. 203); and I cannot help thinking that Vergil is referring to the Mincius valley north of Mantua; the small patch to the south seems hardly worthy of such magniloquent language. If I am right in this, Mantua must have lost a considerable stretch of territory to the north. W. B. A.]. To this I may add that the *liquidi fontes* of l. 200 can hardly mean the stagnant ditches of Pietole. R. S. C.

North to South, then turns towards the East. The tower in the picture stands at its highest point, at the corner. This is the first hill of any description that you come to when you go from Mantua towards Brescia. In other words it is the last outpost of the Alps north-west of Mantua. Nothing could correspond more precisely to Vergil's description of the point where the hills 'melt into the plain.' The little town at the corner is called Carpenedolo.<sup>1</sup> The morainic ridge, as it runs northwards, forms for some miles the eastern watershed of the river Chiese, whose channel is not far off, bringing down the water from the Val Sabbia and the glaciers of the Adamello group which begins to rise to great heights some twenty-five English miles N. of Brescia. You will see from the map that at Carpenedolo the road which lies at the foot of the hill has reached a height of 122 metres, or over 400 feet, and rises gently to 136 metres at Montechiari, the northern end of the ridge.

Where is Calvisano? Just  $8\frac{1}{2}$  km. ( $5\frac{1}{4}$  English miles) west of this; and from Calvisano the ridge with its tower is easily seen, in fact it bounds the landscape to the East. But more than this. From Calvisano as you look north you see the mass of the Alps. The snowy peaks are not visible except on clear days, but the hills in front of them, rising above 1600 feet immediately behind Brescia, which is some fifteen English miles away, stand out and are regularly visible (see Fig. 10 below).

One or two other photographs of the district may be added.

The bell tower of Calvisano itself should be compared with the tower of Sant' Andrea of Mantua, which is of slightly earlier date. You will see that in several respects the two show the same type; each is divided into three sections by 'string-courses'; each has its only window above the second string-course; in each an octagon surmounts the square tower; the octagon is crowned by a turret, conical at Mantua, spread into an ogee-curve at Calvisano. But the towers of Verona and Vicenza are markedly different, and the resemblance of

<sup>1</sup> The name means 'little group of hedge-beeches' (hornbeam, Lat. *carpinus*) and a companion village a little further N.W. is called Castenedolo 'little group of chestnuts.' [There is a Carpenedo between Vicenza and Venice; and Carpineto near Rome preserves the original form of the name. W. B. A.]



FIG. 7. THE CAMPANILE OF CALVISANO



FIG. 8. THE CAMPANILE OF SANT' ANDREA AT MANTOVA



FIG. 9. THE CHIESE NEAR CARPENEDOLO, WITH THE NORTHWARD ARM OF THE RIDGE BEHIND



FIG. 10. THE FOOTHILLS OF THE ALPS SEEN FROM CALVISANO

the other two affords ground for believing that Calvisano maintained its connexion with Mantua right down to the Renaissance.

Vergil's farm, I take it, ran from some rocky point of the Carpenedolo ridge down to the Chiese, of which Fig. 9 is a photograph, showing the Carpenedolo ridge behind it. Only  $13\frac{1}{2}$  km. ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  English miles) to the west is the River Mella, the only small river of North Italy which Vergil mentions in the *Georgics*.<sup>1</sup> You remember it is named as the place where the shepherds pick a certain flower which serves as medicine for their sheep.

The 'well-known streams' between which Tityrus could lie if he wished were either the Chiese and the Mella,<sup>2</sup> or the Chiese and the Mincio which cuts through the Carpenedolo ridge some thirteen English miles further to the east.<sup>3</sup>

Finally let me add a photograph of the view northwards from Calvisano on which Count Lechi has spent a great deal of pains ; it serves at least to show the outlines of the hills behind Brescia. If you have had any experience of photographs taken from a distance of about 24 km. (15 English miles), you will not be surprised that their height is not imposing in the photograph. But their presence is an impressive feature of the landscape seen from Calvisano. Their dark grey sides towering up to a standing belt of clouds, which are torn in fantastic shapes by the winds scouring and buffeting the snow peaks behind, add to the landscape an air of strangeness and mystery ; just that sense of an infinite unknown, which lovers of Vergil know to be perhaps the most characteristic thing in all his pictures of nature.

It is not much, you may say, to be able to identify a particular site with a particular ancient name ; and yet in this case perhaps it is not altogether a waste of time, at least if we may hope that we have formed some picture of the lovely land which fed the imagination of Vergil when he was a child.

Let me add a postscript suggested by the two inscriptions on which much of this case is based. What are they ? One is a rather

<sup>1</sup> IV., 278.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a small intermediate stream whose name I have not yet ascertained.

<sup>3</sup> Again there is a small intermediate stream whose name I have not found.

costly votive offering made by a mother for the safe recovery of her daughter. The other is an even more costly tomb erected by a husband for himself and his wife and his mother ; and on the inscription he goes out of his way to mention another<sup>1</sup> member of the home much less nearly connected to him, if connected to him at all save through his wife. And all over the district round Brescia and Mantua tombs with these long lists of members of a family occur with great frequency. Does not that remind us that in this Northern Venetic<sup>2</sup> region there was something particularly strong about the tie that bound together members of the same family ? It may well recall also the familiar passage at the end of Book II. in the *Georgics*, where Vergil recounts the delights of the farmer's own life at home. It is not merely that he has plenty of simple fare and interesting work ; not merely that he is removed far from the anxieties of the politician or the soldier ; the central thought is of his intimacy with the land, with the workmen whose toil he shares, with his countrymen and small grandchildren (*patriam paruosque nepotes*) whose food his labour earns. This connexion between the ties that bind a man to his land and those that bind him to his own family, has been nobly expressed by a living poet, Mr. Herbert Trench, when he depicts the feelings of the young French conscripts in 1914 fighting for France, in his " Battle of the Marne " from which I venture to quote a part of the concluding stanzas :—

It is the race creates our soul  
By touches many-fingered.  
It is our land that makes the soul to sing  
In beauty like the forest's murmuring.  
As prisoners speak from cell to cell  
By beatings on the wall,  
So speaks to us out of her shrine,  
This sea-beat France, this Gaul—  
As a God might speak unto a vine  
Travelling across his temple-wall  
By impulse from the divine  
Upheaved through the familiar ground—  
Throbbings of our own heart-beats, our own nation.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 192 n.

<sup>2</sup> See *Great Inheritance*, pp. 191-5 ; and note that one of Vergil's detractors, quoted by Macrobius (V., 2. 1) called him in reproach *Veneto*, adding *inter silvas et frutices educto rusticis parentibus nato*.

And Beauty is that language of the race,  
 O beauty is the tongue,  
 In which—be it lived or sung—  
 With utter selflessness of mood,  
 Into the daring instant's time and place  
 The small immediate life is flung  
 With the careless gesture of infinitude.  
 Thus is upheaved the Nation . . .  
 Ascending to the future like a song.

But if you asked Mr. Trench whence he drew his belief in what he calls the 'familial' spirit, that is, in the love of family and fatherland, as being near the root of what is best in human nature, he would tell you, I believe, even if you did not discover it from his writings, that he had first learnt it from Vergil.

### ADDITIONAL NOTES.

#### A. *On the Life of Vergil attributed to Probus.*

Nettleship's admiration for Probus (expressed in the 4th Edition (1881) of Conington's *Virgil*, p. lxxv.) is based on the comments explicitly assigned to him by Gellius and others, not on the commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* which passes under his name but which contains matter in many respects dissimilar. In any case the brief life of Vergil stands on a different footing from the "commentary" to which it is prefixed, and which has rather the appearance of a miscellany of Vergilian criticism drawn from several sources, some of which were exceedingly good and early, and some much later, as every one admits. Nothing is more probable than that the compiler of such a handbook for teachers (perhaps in the fifth century A.D.) should introduce it by a short summary of Vergil's life, especially if he found one so good which bore the name of so high an authority as Valerius Probus of Berytus. No doubt the compiler abridged it in taking it over. And that so devoted a student and interpreter of Vergil as Probus is likely to have made some notes on his life can hardly be doubted. The question which has been hotly debated for the last sixty years is whether the contents (so far as they go) of the actual document which we possess, are worthy of Probus. It is so short, so interesting and so inaccessible to English students that I venture to trespass upon the indulgence of the Editor of this BULLETIN so far as to reproduce it here. The text is that given by Diehl (*Vitae Verg.*, Bonn, 1911, p. 33), except that in two places where the reading of the MSS. differs (in the order of the words after *primumque* in the second sentence, and *cavisset* near the end) I have followed that of the first edition, that of Egnatius (Venice, 1507); and that in places where all editors admit that there is a lacuna in the text, I have inserted in italics the kind of restoration which appears to me possible.

*Vita Vergiliana Valerii Probi.*

P. Vergilius Maro natus Idibus Octobris Crasso et Pompeio consulibus matre Magia Polla, patre Vergilio rustico uico Andico, qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX, tenui facultate nutritus. sed cum iam summis eloquentiae doctoribus uacaret, in belli ciuilibus tempora incidit, quod Augustus aduersus Antonium gessit, primumque post Mutinense bellum *<ager eius in praemium uictoriae destinatus, deinde abreptus distributusque post Philippense bellum>* ueteranis, postea restitutus beneficio Alfeni Vari, Asinii Pollionis et Cornelii Galli, quibus in Bucolicis adulatur: deinde per gratiam Maecenatis in amicitiam Caesaris ductus est. uixit pluribus annis liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Vari. scripsit Bucolica annos natus VIII et XX, Theocritum secutus, Georgica Hesiodum et Varronem. Aeneida ingressus bello Cantabrico, hanc quoque ingenti industria, *<ab Augusto ut opus maturaret appellatus, per reliquam uitam elaborabat>*. ab Augusto usque ad sestertium centies honestatus est. decessit in Calabria annum agens quinquagesimum et primum heredibus Augusto et Maecenate cum Proculo minore fratre. cuius sepulcro, quod est in uia Puteolana, hoc legitur epigramma:

‘Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc  
Parthenope: cecini pascua rura duces.’

Aeneis seruata ab Augusto, quamuis ipse testamento cauisset, ne quid eorum, quae non edidisset, extaret [quod et Servius Varus hoc testatur epigrammate:

‘iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis  
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.  
Tucca uetat Variusque; simul tu, maxime Caesar:  
non tibi, sed Latiae consulis historiae.’]

Every one admits that the portion in [ ] was added by the compiler.

This *Life* was criticised at length by G. Thilo of Heidelberg, the late joint-editor of Servius, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, XL. (1894), pp. 290-304, where he repeats and amplifies the objections raised in a Bonn dissertation by A. Riese in 1862. In 1906, E. Norden followed on the same side (*Rhein. Museum*, LXI., p. 171) with an article in which there was nothing new but a rather surprising violence of tone, which suggests the impatience of one determined to be speedily quit of an unexpectedly complex theme,—*improvisum aspris ueluti qui sentibus anguem pressit, humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit*.

These criticisms, which I have studied with care, appear to me a mere tissue of guesses, involving assumptions possible only to persons who know nothing of the district of Mantua. Norden accepted a statement made to him privately by some unnamed acquaintance in Rome that the scenery of Pietole harmonised well with the descriptions of Vergil's *Eclogues*; and Thilo calmly took for granted that within three Roman miles of Mantua there was some ‘ridge of hills sinking into the plain!’ Had the Universities of Heidelberg (in 1894) and Breslau (in 1906) no good maps of Northern Italy?

Apart from his own guesswork, the only criticisms which Thilo offers on the *Life* are concerned (1) with Keil's certainly inadequate restoration of the fragmentary sentence which refers to *Mutinense bellum*, on which restoration no more words need be wasted; (2) with the statement that Proculus was younger than Vergil, which by combining ingeniously a string of notes from different sources Thilo proves to be incompatible with the theory given in Suetonius that Eclogue V. was a lament for the death of another brother Flaccus. But that theory, which is quite unsupported and was never in the least credible, has been finally put out of court by Mr. Drew's careful investigation (*Cl. Quart.*, XVI. (1922), p. 57) of that Eclogue. We know from Donatus that Valerius Proculus was Vergil's half-brother, *alio patre*; a statement for which I find now welcome confirmation in an inscription of Verona (*C.I.L.*, V., 3409) on a tomb built by a lady named *Magia Procula*, the daughter of one *C. Magius* who was a *Sevir Augustalis* of that town. The combination of the names vouches for an association between the families; there is nothing to prevent our supposing that this *C. Magius* (Proculus) was a cousin of Vergil's half-brother.

(3) Thilo's third serious criticism is of the formation of the local adjective *Andicus* which appears only in this *Life*, and which he supposes to betray "African Latin." On the contrary it is excellent evidence, to any student of the ethnica of ancient Italy, that the biographer was using first-hand information; for this local suffix appears close by in *Arelica* (the ancient name of Peschiera), in the *pagus Farratic-(anus)* of *C.I.L.*, V., 4148, and in the villages *Betriacum*, *Erbuscum*; and it is characteristic alike of Liguria (as in *Ligusticus*, *Marici*, *Venascum*), of the Gauls (*Gallicus*, *Boicus*, *Avaricum*), and of the Veneti (*Veneticus*, *Carnicus*; *Benacus*, *Messanicus*; *Longaticum*). The form has been also vindicated by O. Brugmann (*Idg. Forsch.*, XXVI. (1910), p. 128). On the ethnological significance of the suffix the curious may find full information in the article *Volsci* in the *Encycl. Britannica* (Ed. XI.). Lest any reader should be disturbed by the doubts of two such scholars as Thilo and Norden, let me add that the weight of authority is strongly against them. The excellence and early date of the material from which this *Life* has been drawn was recognised not merely by Nettleship but by three other eminent scholars who like him made a lifelong study of ancient commentaries, Jahn, Keil and Ribbeck; and from a different point of view, and very emphatically, by Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, V., p. 406) whom Huelsen follows (in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclop.* s.v. *Andes*). Martin Schanz (*Röm. Literatur*, Ed. 3, Munich, 1911, p. 32), though he gives more than enough room to Thilo's views, still puts the *Life* first in his list of Vergil-biographies, calling it, quite truly, a 'skeleton of facts.' Some of these facts, as we have seen, are very interesting and not so precisely recorded, if recorded at all, by any other authority.

#### B. On the events underlying Eclogues I. and IX.

On this question the balance of probability seems to me, as (apparently) to Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, V., pp. 406 and 414) and to one of the latest editors of the *Eclogues*, Prof. E. Stampini, to lie with the view quoted in the Servian Commentary ('non nulli,' Serv. Dan., *ad Ecl.* IX., 11; 'quidam,'

Schol. Bern., *Praef. ad Ecl.* IX.) viz. that [in spite of Octavian's ruling] Vergil was finally expelled. This is the natural implication of the two Eclogues as they stand, and it is supported by Martial (VIII., 56, 7-10) who tells us that when Vergil had lost his farm and when Tityrus was mourning for his stolen sheep, Maecenas 'rescued him from poverty,'—not that he restored him to his original farm. At the end of the *Georgics*, Vergil himself tells us that they were written near Naples; we have already seen (p. 186 n.) a possibility that before then he may have stayed for a time near Tarentum. The view of the commentary (though not of the *Life*) attributed to Probus (Hagen, p. 328) that the events of Eclogue I., are later in time than those of Eclogue IX., and that the poet deliberately mystified his readers for a courtly motive, is intrinsically improbable. There is nothing in any part of Vergil's work later than these two Eclogues to prove that at the time when it was written he was living in the N. of Italy.

The Servian commentary further implies (Serv. Dan., *ad Ecl.* IX., 10, 11, 27; so also the Bernese Scholiast in his Preface to this Eclogue) that the change in Vergil's prospects was connected with the replacement of Pollio (*fugato Pollione*) as Governor of Cisalpine Gaul by Alfenus Varus. From the same authority (on *Ecl.* VI., 6) we learn (*a*) that Varus protected Vergil from a second expulsion; yet in his note on IX., 10 he states (*b*) that thanks to the *iniquitas* of Varus the Mantuans had nothing left to them but marsh-land (*nihil praeter palustria*) although he adds a quotation, from an orator whom he calls Cornelius, showing (*c*) that Varus had been commanded to leave them three miles of territory all round the walls.

From this Thilo (l. supra cit., pp. 290 and 302) wished to infer that Vergil's estate lay within the three-mile limit, but (apart from the geographical absurdities discussed above in Note A) the assumption is gratuitous. If we argue, as Thilo does, that from the final description of the fate of the Mantuans, cooped up in their own lagoons, the estate of Vergil was excepted, though Servius does not say so, then there is no reason whatever why it should not have been equally excepted from the confiscatory enactment confining the territory of the town to three miles from its walls. If the statement (*b*) above requires modification by statement (*a*), so does statement (*c*) which is contained in the same note as statement (*b*).

Our trouble arises wholly from the lamentable process of repeated abridgment which all ancient commentaries have undergone in course of their transmission. We may note as an example that the high authority of the extended version of the Servian commentary (Serv. Danielis) has been brilliantly established by Prof. E. K. Rand in his admirable paper on Donatus (*Cl. Quarterly*, X. (1916) p. 158); where the reader will find evidence, incidentally, of the strange perversity of judgment which dogged Thilo's learning.

In this matter of the confiscation, restoration, and final loss of Vergil's farm the successive abbreviators had an unusually trying problem. They had to deal, as practically all students of the question have agreed, with a series of events, any one of which might be briefly described in much the same terms as the rest. Those who think with me that the authority of Probus is incomparably superior to every other, will see that the first step was taken *post Mutinense bellum*, in 43 B.C.; in the restoration printed

above (Note A) to complete this sentence of Probus I have conjectured that it took the form of some promise to the soldiers (of lands in N. Italy) to be carried out when Brutus and Cassius should have been finally defeated. The fulfilment of the promise, so far as it would injure Vergil, was more than once hindered, with Octavian's sanction, and probably at Gallus' entreaty, first by Pollio and then by Varus. But the clamour and violence of the veterans, which Octavian was then powerless to resist, and which proved nearly fatal to Vergil's personal safety, in the end carried the day. All Octavian could do was to allow his wealthy supporter Maecenas to compensate Vergil for his terrible loss, immediately, no doubt, in hard cash, and before long by the gift of an estate in Campania. Among the stages of the loss the scattered fragments of the commentaries give us glimpses (1) of an appeal to Octavian; (2) of Pollio's protection; (3) of Octavius' Musa's delimitation; (4) of Octavian's new instructions (whatever they were) to Varus; (5) of Varus' final decision; (6) of a violent attack (or attacks) on Vergil's land by veterans discontented with the land granted to them. But so far as I can see we have no means of knowing how far these events actually took place in this order, save that the first three preceded the second three. (1), (2) and (3) may have happened in any order, and so may (4), (5) and (6), save that (4) preceded (5) if the orator "Cornelius" spoke truth.

But from the uncertainties of these fragmentary comments we may at least appeal to Vergil himself. As Thilo saw (*loc. cit.*, p. 302) the tone of the 1st Eclogue is mournful, indeed bitter. The reference to the Civil Wars (ll. 71-2) is overt and the soldiers are 'unnatural' and 'barbarous'; and though Meliboeus is surprised at Tityrus' fortune, he does not envy him (l. 11) for remaining in such a scene of turmoil and cruelty. But Thilo has not noticed, what is not less important, the complete difference of tone in Eclogue IX. Even where the confiscation is described, not *discordia* but merely *fors* is blamed; and the contrast is not between barbarians and peaceful cultivators (*barbarus has segetes*, l. 72) but merely between *carmina nostra* and *tela Martia* (IX. 12). Moeris, the servant of Menalcas, is on speaking terms with the new *possessor*, and though he curses that possessor's kids, he is taking them to market for him. The entreaty to Varus which he quotes was no more than *superet modo Mantua nobis*, that the existence of Mantua should be secured—an entreaty which in fact was granted. And all the poems cited are from some time which seems long ago—some are half-forgotten. Since he wrote them, the poet seems to have "suffered a sea-change" as Shakespeare might have called it. And now it is clear there are many things in his mind besides the sad topic of the lost farm, which is mentioned for the last time in l. 29, indeed it would be truer to say in l. 16, since l. 29 only reports the prayer which has, in fact, saved Mantua from destruction. And in the remaining forty lines we find that the exiled Moeris is expected still (ll. 30-31) to keep bees and cows, and to rejoin his master soon (l. 67) and to hear more of his songs; so both he and Menalcas are clearly on the other side of any actual danger. Further, and most significantly, one of the poems recalls the great hopes of the new peace celebrated—clearly at an earlier date—in Eclogue V. (possibly even, though less clearly, recalling Eclogue IV.). And at the end, what are the last words,

which to every Roman ear would give the omen and key-note of the whole poem? *melius canemus* 'we shall sing better songs'; whereas Eclogue I. ends with the beautiful but grave prognostic of increasing gloom—*maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae*. The shadows were very thick in the years 43, 42 and 41.

What then is Eclogue IX. and when was it written? Surely it is a typical case of the *praeteritorum malorum secura recordatio*. Eclogue X. has been proved (see p. 187 sup.) to be a summary account of the poetry of Vergil's bosom-friend Gallus; is not the Eclogue that precedes it best regarded as containing something like a summary of Vergil's own past work, with specimens (*a*) of his purely rustic pastorals (23-25), (*b*) of his political appeal (27-29), (*c*) of his Theocritean romancing (39-43), and (*d*) of his prophecies of the new age (47-50)? Is there any topic in the preceding eight Eclogues which these four quotations do not represent—save the praises of Gallus in Eclogue VI? There was no need to allude to that poem; for it was more Gallus than Vergil, and Eclogue X. was to take up that theme again. By the time Vergil wrote this Eclogue, and ended it with *melius canemus*, was he not already bidding good-bye to his early work and all its beloved surroundings, and reaching out to the vaster issues of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*?

## LESSING.<sup>1</sup>

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**I**N one of his early essays Carlyle, almost a century ago, called the attention of England to Lessing in these words :—

“ We cannot but wonder that more of this man is not known among us, or that the knowledge of him has not done more to remove misconceptions. It is to Lessing of all his contemporaries that an Englishman would turn with the readiest affection. Among all the writers of the eighteenth century, we will not except even Diderot and David Hume, there is not one of a more compact and rigid intellectual structure ; who more distinctly knows what he is aiming at, or with more gracefulness, vigour, and precision sets it forth to his readers. He thinks with the clearness and piercing sharpness of the most expert logician ; but a genial fire pervades him, a wit, a heartiness, a general richness and fineness of nature to which most logicians are strangers. He is a sceptic in many things, but the noblest of sceptics ; a mild, manly, half careless enthusiasm struggles through his indignant unbelief ; he stands before us like a toil-worn but unwearied and heroic champion, earning not the conquest, but the battle, as indeed himself admits to us, that it is not the finding of truth but the honest search for it, that profits.”

These words are as apposite to-day as in 1828, the date of Carlyle's essay on German Literature in the *Edinburgh Review*, where they occur. Lessing remains not only one of the greatest of literary critics,—perhaps a small matter at best ; not only a writer of creative genius, which is never and nowhere a small matter in the history of the human spirit ; but also one in whom these high capacities are seen to be the organs and instruments of a personality alive at all points and

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 8 February, 1922.

sound to the core. Men so richly endowed both with character and intellect as Lessing are at all times rare, and their memory can never be irrelevant. To his own time and country he came as a wakening and quickening power ; his life was the greatest individual force among those which transformed the Germany of Gellert and Gottsched into the Germany of Kant and Goethe. To other times and countries, suffering less from the weaknesses of a nascent or thwarted, than from those of an overripe, civilization there may be something salutary still in the life of one whose career perhaps refutes as decisively as any in modern history (if it needed refuting) the pseudo-scientific doctrine that genius is “degeneration.”

## I.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was born in 1729—a year after Edmund Burke—in Saxony, in one of those Lutheran parsonages which, all through the darkest times of German history, were, as Heine said, focuses of German character and God-fearing family life. Lessing was in both respects a true child of such a home, though he grew up to become, like Luther, the sharpest critic of the form of religion in which he was reared. At the close of his studies first at the School of Meisseur, and then at the University of Leipzig, he was already, when scarcely out of boyhood, a scholar and a critic who, like the young Milton, had explored the whole range of the ancient classics. At twenty he was already sure of himself, and the purposes of his life were clear.

To a young German of the middle of the eighteenth century, the position of his country in European civilization was in many respects humiliating. She had a magnificent history—far back in the middle ages. The German emperor was, in mediæval theory, divine regent of the world in temporal, as the Pope in spiritual, things ; and one of the greatest of German kings, Charles the Great, had gone far to fulfil the claim. The German thirteenth century had been, with the thirteenth century of France, the most brilliant in Europe. At the close of the German middle ages stands one colossal figure—Luther. But with the mid-sixteenth century there set in a steady decay culminating in the anarchy and ruin of the Thirty Years' War.

France and England had, on the contrary, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, grown no less steadily in power, prosperity,

and in the material and intellectual qualities of civilization. In spite of grave internal divisions, of prolonged civil war, both remained strong, compact states, and Paris and London had been, at least from 1700 onwards, the leading centres of European culture. Germany had no single capital. She had a number of court residences, only one of which, Vienna, was as yet a great city ; a number of semi-republican cities, Hamburg, Frankfort, Bremen, with other old commercial towns, like Cologne, and Nüremberg, and a series of University towns, like Leipzig and Jena. To her profusion of independent focuses of intellectual, political, and civic life Germany was destined to owe the richness and variety of local culture which now distinguishes her provincial life from that of France and even of England. But in 1750 this diversity only reflected the disintegration which affected every aspect of German existence. Not merely was Germany not a state ; not only were her frontiers openly disregarded, and her fields overrun by foreign armies. What mattered far more, she was not a nation. And a symptom of the absence of national life was the absence of a national literature, or even the promise of one. If any literature had a vogue, it was the feeble imitation of the classical dramas of the age of Racine, presided over by the Leipzig professor Gottsched,—“the German Boileau.” Yet no one who remembered the past, or who observed the profusion of unorganized power of mind and heart could doubt what this people was capable of becoming. A seer, who listened to the unparalleled wealth of folksong that sounded through the German countryside, might even have divined the treasures both of poetry and of music to which the German folksong was one day to be the key. But this promise and potency were still obscure, and the signs of decay and disintegration everywhere obtruded themselves. Such was in barest outline the Germany upon which Lessing at the opening of his career looked forth in 1750.

In one quarter only was an energetic effort being made to create a strong and coherent German state. For this reason Lessing's eye had been drawn with eager interest and sympathy to the young king Frederick of Prussia, who had during the previous decade established his regime of discipline, self-sacrifice, and liberty of thought, at Berlin. The atmosphere of Berlin society under his rule resembled that of Parisian “Enlightenment,” but it was less scientific, more humanist, and provided it was sceptical in tone, considerably more free. One of

its pillars was the wise and large-minded Jew, Moses Mendelssohn,—one day to contribute essential traits to Lessing's Nathan. Berlin was the city in which the parochialism of eighteenth century Germany was most nearly overcome. There from 1750 to 1752 Frederick entertained Voltaire, the most illustrious man of letters in Europe. And there young Lessing had his first encounter with both the king and his future antagonist,—an unfriendly encounter, which neither ever forgave.

In 1756 came the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. And it was in the glow of the national fervour engendered by the struggle, that Lessing came forward, in 1759, with his first trumpet-blast of criticism, the *Letters on Recent Literature*. He was now thirty, the most commanding critical voice in Germany, perhaps, as Macaulay declared, the strongest and keenest in Europe.

These critical "Letters" resembled not a little those so-called "Provinciales" of Blaise Pascal which, just a century before, had mortally wounded the power of Jesuitism in France, outwardly impressive as it might still remain. Lessing, similarly, did not destroy the feebly pretentious German imitators of French classicism, but he reduced them to the rank of the consciously second rate. And Lessing, like Pascal, found for his polemic a new *prose*, nervous, agile, rapid, concise; a feat far greater in German than in French, which had a tradition centuries old of fine prose. But the Frenchman, having to observe anonymity, is subtler, more habitually ironical, the German more simple and vehement: a true "athlete of the spirit," as Dante called St. Dominic, wielding all the arts of conflict mercilessly in its service.

The most famous passage made an epoch in German criticism. It opens with a direct challenge to the dictator of German letters. "Nobody will deny," one of Gottsched's organs had declared, "that the German stage owes many of its best improvements to Prof. Gottsched." "I," retorts Lessing, adopting the Homeric joke, "I am this Nobody, I deny it point blank. It were to be wished that Mr. Gottsched had never meddled with the German stage." He goes on to lay down trenchantly his thesis, at once destructive and constructive, that it was not the French nor the Latins who were akin to the Germans, and fit to be their masters and guides in literature, but the English and the Greeks. He contrasts with the elegance and

rhetoric of Corneille and Racine the terribleness and passion of Shakespeare. “ Even judged by the example of the ancients, Shakespeare is a far greater tragic poet than Corneille, though Corneille knew the ancients well, and Shakespeare knew them hardly at all. . . . The Englishman almost always reaches the end of Tragedy, however strange and peculiar the path he chooses ; the Frenchman almost never, though he treads the beaten way. Since *Ædipus the King* no piece in the world has moved men more than *Othello*, *Lear*, and *Hamlet*.”

This was then, on the continent, a bold assertion. But we are more concerned with Lessing's reason for his faith. The ground of Shakespeare's superiority he finds in this, that his “ drama ” is really what the Greeks meant by the term—a piece of action ; whereas in the French drama “ action ” pauses for long intervals of rhetorical analysis or description. He showed, no doubt, here, as he showed to the end, incomplete perception of the great qualities of French tragedy. But the distinction between action and rhetoric, between doing and talking about deeds, was in itself just as well as salutary. It was a distinction, moreover, deeply engrained in Lessing's energetic and fiery intellect, and it lay at the heart of the more famous book,—his greatest piece of constructive criticism, which appeared six years later.

The *Laokoon, or the Limits of Poetry and Painting* (1766) made an epoch in the criticisms of the eighteenth century ; though difficult as a whole to read, the core of it is a beautiful piece of argument, which can quite easily be followed and enjoyed without any particular knowledge of art.

It grew out of an accident,—an incidental comparison drawn by the first historian of art, Winckelmann, between the well-known sculptured group of the Laocoon, representing the destruction of the father and his two sons by serpents, and the description of the scene by Vergil in the *Æneid*. Such comparison was regularly used by Winckelmann in his appreciations of sculpture, and often with great felicity. But he everywhere assumed, as until then had been universally done, that the two arts, sculpture and poetry, rested on the same grounds and were to be judged by the same laws, an assumption canonized in the ancient dictum *ut pictura poesis*, “ what is right for the painter is right for the poet,” and vice versa. Now in the present case the poet had diverged, Winckelmann declared, from the sculptor ; Vergil had represented the agonized father shrieking aloud, the sculptor

as mastering his pain and uttering only a deep groan ; and he declared that the sculptor was superior because truer to the “ calm grandeur of antique art.” Now neither Lessing (who had not been out of Germany) nor Winckelmann (who had never seen Greece) knew or could know all the fallacies that this view involved ; the Laocoon group not being, for example, a piece of antique Greek art at all. But Lessing, with the instinct of a great scholar, found his way with wonderful sureness through his imperfect materials to the essential truth. He pointed out, in the first place, with brilliant ease, that Winckelmann had ascribed to his Greek sculptor of the fifth or fourth century B.C., ideas which only entered Greece in the third ; that the notion that unrestrained expression of pain was ignoble came from the Stoics and from them to Rome, but was unknown to the Greeks of the age of the great sculptors and poets, to Æschylus and Sophocles no less than to Homer. “ The Greek felt fear and was afraid ; he uttered his pain and grief ; he was ashamed of no human weakness, but human weakness never prevented him from doing his duty,—the theatre is not a gladiatorial arena ;\* to produce pity is its very end, and no pity dissolves our whole soul more than that roused by the representation of despair.” And Lessing showed convincingly how, far from suppressing the cries of their heroes, the tragic poets put the cries of Prometheus or Philoctetes or Herakles into the verse itself, filling whole lines with agonized cries.

But how then was the difference of treatment to be explained ? Why did the sculptured Laocoon only groan, and the Laocoon of the poet’s description cry out ? Because, Lessing replied, the two arts do not, in fact, rest upon the same base and are not subject to the same laws. For they work under fundamentally different conditions. The plastic and pictorial arts can represent only a single moment. Poetry, on the contrary, can represent only a succession of moments. The plastic arts can represent only things which exist simultaneously, poetry only things which happen in succession.

This difference determines the proper subjects for both. Sculpture, dealing with simultaneous impressions, must represent states, not actions ; poetry, dealing with successive impressions, must represent actions, not states. Hence Lessing ruled out, at a stroke, whole classes of art then enjoying the utmost favour,—the statue or picture which tries to tell a story, and the poetry which describes a scene. The ruling, as often

with Lessing, was too trenchant ; but it was in substance sound ; it disposed of all the pseudo-classic allegorical pictures, and of all the pastorals in languid descriptive verse. But was poetry, then, never to describe ? Why, Lessing himself was a devoted lover of Thomson's *Seasons* which we think of as the descriptive poem *par excellence*. But Lessing in a very brilliant argument, showed that in great poetry, what is described is habitually not a state but continuous action. For several hundred lines Homer describes to us the Shield of Achilles. But what he in effect describes is not the finished shield, but the process, step by step, of making it. And in Thomson, too, the descriptions we most admire and which are most admirable, are those in which he is describing movement,—as the coming on of the storm.

And how, finally, did this bear upon the Laocoon problem ? The poet and the sculptor, we now see, could not be compared in their treatment of the anguished cry in so far as their arts were subject to different laws. For Vergil the cry is but one moment in the continuous action of which he is telling the story ; and the words in which he tells it are themselves succeeded by other words of different content. However vivid the image raised, it is modified, subdued and even effaced by those that succeed ; whereas the sculptor if he represented the face uttering an agonized cry at all, could represent nothing else ; he had to choose a single moment, and if this was the moment he chose it was eternity so far as he was concerned. Now evidently some moments are better, and others are worse, fitted for the eternity which plastic art is thus by its own laws compelled to impose ; the noble repose—repose yet instinct with vitality—of the Praxitelean Hermes fascinates us however long we look at it, whereas the loudly laughing or wildly weeping figures of the decadent renaissance rapidly disgust us. In other words, the sculptor has not to choose moments of extreme emotion, which in their nature are brief, but what Lessing happily called fertile or pregnant moments, where an action is hinted which the imagination can develop, while it can equally dwell with full satisfaction upon the promise yet unfulfilled, for its own sake, as the bud is beautiful not only because it is to become the flower.

It was for this reason, Lessing urged, and not because it was noble to suppress the utterance of pain, that the sculptor of the Laocoon made his hero groan, not shriek. And however fallacious that may

be as an interpretation of the motive of the late Roman sculptor, the doctrine remains.

Lessing's doctrine that action is the proper subject of poetry did not fail to incur the violent antagonism of the Romantic critics of the early nineteenth century, and certainly compliance with it would have saved their country from much invertebrate and nerveless literature. And the doctrine requires to be interpreted. It does not mean that Scott's poetry for instance is better than Wordsworth's because the one is full of bustling affairs, and the other of contemplation. When Wordsworth said

Action is transitory—a step, a blow  
The motion of a muscle—this way or that,— . . .  
Suffering is permanent, obscure, and dark  
And has the nature of infinity,

he is using action in a narrower sense, adapted to Scott of whose poetry he is thinking ; whereas Lessing's 'action' includes suffering, and especially tragic suffering.

Further, is there not in the greatest lyrics, an element of drama, even of tragedy ? In Wordsworth's *Immortality Ode*, the ideas are sublime, but we should feel the poem less great if it did not express the situation of one to whom something momentous has happened, is happening. The splendour of the grass and of the flower has gone ; he sees no more the vision, and he wrestles with the loss ; we watch him winning his way step by step towards the fervour of the final recovery :—

And O ye fountains, meadows, hills and groves  
Think not of any severing of our loves ;  
I only have relinquished one delight  
To live beneath your more habitual sway.

## II.

Nevertheless, action in lyric is at most implicit, and can never be so vital to the poetry as passion and song ; and for these Lessing's age had little sense. Had he lived to see the great age of lyric poetry which began in Germany, and in England in the generation following his death, and in France in the generation after that, he might have qualified the trenchancy of the *Laocoon*. But in his mentality and poetic theory alike, lyric is the weak or wanting place. So it had been in the Poetic of his master Aristotle. Both critics were

drawn by their insistence upon action as the stuff of poetry, to the kind of poetry where action is most direct and immediate drama, and to the kind of drama where action is most overwhelming and intense, to drama. But as will be seen there was room in Lessing's rich and versatile nature for comedy too. "The greatest kind of poetry is drama, and what is greatest in drama is tragedy, and what is greatest in tragedy is the representation of characters profoundly human and true under the sway of great passions." Tragedy was thus, at the highest, an education in humanity, bringing home to us in our narrow experience the ideal reach and grandeur of the spirit of man.

It is thus easily intelligible that Lessing's energy, both as critic and as creative poet, in the years following the *Laocoon*, was concentrated upon the drama. The result, in the same year 1767, was two works of lasting moment—the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, the maturest statement of Lessing's doctrines of dramatic technique, and *Minna von Barnhelm*, the first good German comedy. Of the *Dramaturgie* little need be said here. It was the fruit of a generous but premature attempt to establish a national drama at Hamburg, the progressive and enlightened Hanse town, where if anywhere in Germany such a project appeared to have a chance. Lessing accepted the office of critic, and published incisive and detailed criticisms of several renowned tragedies by Corneille and Voltaire, certainly the most penetrating they had then ever received. The discussion of Voltaire's "Shakesperean" innovations, in French tragedy in particular, wittily disclosed how shallow Voltaire's understanding even of what he genuinely admired in Shakespeare really was. The ghost in *Sémiramide*, for instance, who enters a crowded salon in broad day, is set with ludicrous effect beside the one which "shakes our disposition with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls" on the midnight platform at Elsinore. But even the profoundest negative criticism could not generate fresh artistic impulse, and the theatre itself, after a valiant struggle, was compelled to fall back upon the third-rate productions of the day. "It was a naïve idea," Lessing bitterly commented, "to give the Germans a national theatre before we have become a nation." His seated statue, in the Gänsemarkt at Hamburg, now faces the site of the theatre for which he thus thanklessly strove.

Yet Lessing had himself as a dramatist already laid the foundation of a national drama.

His comedy, *Minna von Barnhelm*, was a skilful application of traditional technique to a thoroughly German situation and *ethos*. Deeply read in the English, French, and Italian drama, especially in Lillo and Diderot, and freely availing himself of their methods, Lessing nevertheless produced a work which is still one of the freshest, healthiest, and most thoroughly German of modern comedies. The situation is taken from the time only just passed, the agitated years which followed the close of the Seven Years' War. The hero—Major von Tellheim—is a fine example of the noble qualities which may qualify the notorious foibles of the Prussian officer. He has been dismissed from Frederick's army, at the close of the war, with circumstances of undeserved disgrace. Required to levy contributions on a hostile German population, he had chosen to pay the amount from his own property ; but his story was too ridiculously improbable to be believed, and he was accused of receiving bribes. In spite of his innocence, he feels compelled to break off his engagement with the Saxon heiress, Minna. The misunderstandings which result from the conflict between his sense of honour and the love, disguised, but undiminished, of both, are the matter of the comedy.

An illustration may be given of Lessing's humour, touched with pathos, drawn not from any manipulation of comic types, but from a quite natural conflict of purposes between two men of simple and sterling character,—in this case Major Tellheim and his man, Just, a rough-tongued and rough-mannered soldier, devoted with German fidelity to his master. The cashiered officer, unable any longer to keep a servant, wishes to pay him off, but encounters unexpected difficulties :—

*T.* Are you there ?

*J.* (*Wiping his eyes*) Yes.

*T.* You have been crying ?

*J.* I made out my account in the kitchen, and it is full of smoke. Here it is, sir. . . . Be merciful to me, sir. I know well enough folks had no mercy for you, but ———

*T.* What do you mean ?

*J.* I looked for death sooner than dismissal.

*T.* I have no further occasion for you ; I must learn to do without a servant. (*Reads the account*) : “ The Major to Just, debtor : 3½ months' wages . . . 22 thaler.” Good, and it is fair that I should pay for the whole of the current month.

*J.* The other side, sir.

T. There is more?

J. "The Major to Just, creditor. Paid to the canteen for me 25 th.; nursing and food during my cure 39 th.; advanced to my homeless and plundered father, at my request, not reckoning the two horses given him besides, 50 th., total 114 th. Subtracting the 22 th., I remain 91 th. in the Major's debt?—Fellow, are you mad?

J. I am sure I cost you far more. But it would be waste of ink to write it. I can't pay it, and if you took the uniform which I haven't deserved yet,—I would rather you let me die in hospital.

T. What do you take me for? You owe me nothing, and I will recommend you to one of my friends, with whom you will have a better time than with me.

J. I owe you nothing, and yet you will send me off? Do as you will, sir, I stay with you, I must stay with you.

T. And your obstinacy, your defiance, your wild hot temper against every one who you think has nothing to say to you, your malicious ill nature, your vengeance ———

J. Make me as bad as you please; but you won't make me think worse of myself than I do of my dog. Last winter I was walking by a canal at dusk, and heard a low whining. I went down the bank, grasped towards the sound, thought I was saving a child, and drew a poodle out of the water. No harm in that, I thought. The poodle followed me; but I don't like poodles. I drove it off,—all in vain; I whipped it away, no use. I would not let it into my room at night; it lay outside on the threshold. If it came too near me, I kicked it; it cried, looked at me, and wagged its tail. It hasn't yet had a bit of bread from my hand; but I am the only person it attends to and allows to touch it. It leaps away in front of me, and performs all its tricks before me without orders. It is an ugly poodle, but the very best of dogs. If it goes on like that, I shan't have the heart to be cross with poodles.

T. (*Aside*). Nor I with him! No, there are no really inhuman men.—Just, we'll stay together.

J. Of course we shall!—You wanted to do without a servant? You forget your wounds, and that you can only move one arm freely. You can't do without me, and—without boasting, sir, I am a servant who, if the worst comes to the worst, can beg and steal for his master.

T. Just, we will *not* stay together.

J. At your service, sir.

In *Emilia Galotti*, five years later, the conception of honour, used in *Minna* to elicit pleasant misunderstandings, was touched to a tragic issue. "Honour" is always with Lessing a noble quality; he never hints at that degradation to a mischievous superstition exploited in our time by the author of the drama *Die Ehre*. On the contrary, he saw in the tragic disasters it may bring the acting out of that heroic quality in character which he most admired. Such a case was the

story of the Roman Virginius who killed his daughter to save her from outrage. It was not a Shakesperean motive, and Lessing, with all his admiration for Shakespeare, or perhaps because his admiration was so discerning and so completely free from vanity, follows totally other ways in drama. His plays were the product of immense intellectual power, very little enriched or suffused with poetic imagination. English precedent was indeed not unconcerned with Emilia ; but it was precedent of Georgian, not Elizabethan, England. The legend of Virginia had quite recently, in 1755, been dramatized by Crisp in London, and Lessing knew and admired the play. A German dramatist had in one respect better reason than an English, to handle such a subject. Whatever appeal a play derives from a plot which might happen in real life in the society to which the audience belongs, an English play, representing the violent abduction of a well-born girl by the sovereign, did not, even in the worst Georgian days, possess. But in Germany with its crowd of petty despots and irresponsible courts, a play with such a plot did possess that appeal. The abduction of a Virginia, in England a legend of little more than academic interest, was in a little German principality a perfectly possible event. The conditions of such a tragedy did not need to be invented, they were present in the German character and German politics of the day. It was only necessary to suppose a man like Tellheim, with an inflexible sense of honour like his, to be living as a subject in the dominions of a petty German prince. That the scene was laid ostensibly in an Italian counterpart of one of these courts, was merely a transparent disguise.

The plot thus satisfied the canon of "naturalness" which Lessing took over from Diderot. Only Lessing applied it with a rigour foreign to the genial improvizations of the Frenchman. His plot had to be not only one that could happen, but one which at every step could happen only as it did. And few plots are, in fact, more closely knit than that of Lessing's *Emilia*.

The Prince and his unscrupulous minister, Marinelli, are drawn with deadly strokes. He is a cultured profligate, brilliant, polished, a patron of the arts, but careless of affairs and indifferent to his subjects. When his minister hands him a death-warrant for signature, he replies : "With the greatest pleasure !" The cast-off mistress, Countess Orsina, prepares us for the more hideous criminality of Emilia's ab-

duction ; itself prepared for by the murder of her betrothed on the eve of their marriage.

The handling of the supreme crisis, the father's intervention to save his daughter—by taking her life—indicates that we have to do with something new in drama. In the Roman legend Virginius kills his daughter simply to save her from violence, whereupon the populace avenges her on the tyrant. It is a crudely simple situation, calling for only the most elementary psychology. Lessing modifies it in two ways. In the first place, what finally determines Odoardo to kill Emilia is not the fear of actual violence, but the perception that she is not strong enough to resist the insidious poison of the palace atmosphere. Further, the Prince suffers no external or visible vengeance ; he is left to the torment of his frustrated passion.

### III.

Lessing would not have meant what he does for German literature had he been a man of letters, even of the highest order, only. For the age of Goethe and Kant and Schiller the making of literature was inseparable from the "criticism of life" understood in a larger and deeper sense than Arnold's. *Faust*, where poetry, ethics, philosophy are organically fused, was only the most salient example in the succession of famous works of literature—*Götz*, *Die Räuber*, *Iphigenie*, *Meister*,—where the presentment of a story or the shaping of beauty is a half symbolic figure for ideals of right living and beliefs about God and man. Lessing, of all the writers of his generation, gave the most powerful and decisive lead in this direction. He was a great man of letters ; but literature and criticism were instruments in the hands of one strenuously bent on the service of his country and mankind. And both his patriotism and his humanity were penetrated with fundamental convictions about life, and God, and man, convictions which if they did not resolve the current feuds in politics and religion, restated their problems with a freshness and power which for the wisest minds of the time brought them nearer to solution.

Lessing's politics were penetrated with a sense of the evils incident to the state, and to the division, however inevitable, of mankind into states. Here his ideas—put forward with dramatic brilliance in the *Dialogues of Falk and Ernst* (1778)—were to be in sharpest dissonance with the theory embodied a century later in the Prussian State. But

they found response in Kant's treatise on Perpetual Peace, and they foreshadowed the League of Nations. Lessing found the germ of his solution in the once international order of Freemasonry. Here, as in the antiquarian investigations of the *Laocoon*, Lessing contrives from the most fallacious premises to reach solid truth. The Englishman reads with amusement the vast idea of a social order based upon masonic usage which Lessing ascribes to the great English builder Sir Christopher Wren. But the idea was Lessing's, not Wren's. He saw in freemasonry the type of an international order which should educate human society by fortifying and expanding the intellectual and ethical powers of its individual members, and thus relieve the evils incident to the state system.

To profess freemasonry was then, in Germany, to admit religious infidelity. The author of *Falk and Ernst* had already shown that his convictions on religion were far removed from orthodoxy. At the outset of his career they had precluded his entrance into the Church. He was now, in a prolonged encounter with the protestant clergy, to vindicate, more signally than any other in the eighteenth century, religion from theology.

His clerical opponents are now remembered only because of the great lay-theologian who was their opponent; but the conflict produced together with some of his most brilliant and annihilating polemics, two works of enduring significance: the philosophic drama *Nathan the Wise*, and the series of pregnant and weighty paragraphs which he called *The Education of the Human Race*.

Lessing's attitude towards the established theology of his time outwardly resembled that of the French encyclopedists. But the resemblance was only superficial. Lessing was as sharply and profoundly opposed to the deism of Voltaire—an abstract assertion of God disguising a complete negation of religion—as he was to the crass orthodoxy of the Lutheran Church itself. Nor would he ever have denounced that or any other branch of the Christian Church, whatever scorn he poured upon some of its self-constituted champions, with the savage hatred of Voltaire's *écrasez l'infâme!* For his quarrel with the religions of his time was precisely that they were not religious enough.

To this position he had been helped by the two supreme thinkers of the closing seventeenth century—Spinoza and Leibniz. They had found in Christian dogma neither idle superstition nor literal truth, but

the figured symbol of realities which it was the task of the philosophic reason to work out. Thus to Spinoza, the "God-intoxicated" philosopher of Amsterdam, deism and orthodoxy were equally irrational; "God" was neither a Trinity, nor a Creator, who after making the world had left it completely alone, but the infinite substance of the Universe, of which the visible world and the world of thought are alike modes of existence, and which the different religions express imperfectly under various forms of figure and symbol. Hence Lessing, as a theologian, addressed himself to two classes of opponents, the sceptics and the orthodox, notwithstanding that his actual controversy was almost exclusively with the latter, who alone took up the challenge or even appeared conscious that he was not on their side. What he opposed to both the positive and the negative dogmatism was a humane religion for which all forms of traditional belief have their measure of truth.

The finest symbolic representation of this "humane religion" is that which Lessing bequeathed to his countrymen and to posterity in the philosophic drama of *Nathan the Wise* (1779). Lessing's feud with the Lutherans had been suddenly stopped by the fiat of the Duke of Brunswick. At the same moment an overwhelming domestic tragedy befell him,—the death, on the same night, after a year's happy marriage, of his newly born son and of his wife. In that poignant hour the thought came to him of a better way with his opponents than either controversy or silence; and he resolved—taking up an abandoned dramatic sketch of earlier years—to convey his meaning by parable instead of by polemic.

The germ of the whole—the central incident about which the entire plot is built—is the famous fable of the Three Rings. Lessing derived this directly, as he tells us, from the version briefly told in the *Decameron* (I. 3), where a wealthy Jew is summoned by Saladin to declare which of the three religions—Mohammedan, Christian, and Jewish—is the true one. The fable, as told by him in reply, asserts that, though one of them is "true," God alone can tell which it is. His tolerant agnosticism marked a departure from dogmatic Christianity, almost as complete as the scoffing unbelief of the Court of Frederick II. which jested at the "three impostors," Moses, Mohamed, and Christ. In any case the conclusion that God alone knew which religion was "the true one" readily lent itself to the insinuation that all religions

known to us are false. In this form it appealed to the enlightened sceptics of the eighteenth century, and delighted Voltaire as reclothed in the fresh and piquant symbolism of Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.

Lessing took up the old fable in a very different spirit. He hardly altered the incidents, but he altogether transformed their significance, and in a sense as remote from the barren negations of a universal scepticism as from a colourless agnosticism. The three rings may be indistinguishable ; the three religions may each present claims, impossible of decision, to "truth" : let them be tried then, said Lessing like a modern pragmatist, by the measure in which they "work." Let each religion be cherished by those who are born into it as the source of love for his fellow-men, and the measure in which it yields that love will be for us the measure of its "truth."

The three religions are all represented in the drama. Nathan, the wise Jew, is the central figure. Saladin, the Caliph of the Saracens, a fervid but large-minded Mohammedan, is drawn with generous sympathy ; only a generation before "Mahomet," a rogue and impostor, had served as a convenient vehicle for Voltaire's exposure of Christ. Christianity itself is represented, as in the actual world, by several divergent types : the fiery young crusader, pardoned by Saladin when at the point of execution ; the simple-souled Benedictine, who asks nothing more than the Sermon on the Mount, and grieves that Christians so often "forget that Jesus Christ Himself was a Jew" ; and the Patriarch, who plots against the Templar and against Nathan, the single representative of religious intolerance in the play. The gist of the drama is contained in the central scene (III. 7). Saladin has sent to Nathan, ostensibly to obtain a loan from his vast wealth for the prosecution of the war, in reality to question him upon religion. Nathan conveys his reply, like his prototype in Boccaccio, in the parable of the Three Rings.

In ancient days, he relates, there lived in the East a man who possessed an invaluable opal ring, the gift of one he loved. The stone had the property of making the wearer dear to God and man. He left it to his best loved son, and decreed that in each generation it should be left in the same way :—

Then came the ring at length unto a father  
Who had three sons all equally obedient,  
And by him therefore equally beloved.

Only, from time to time, one or the other  
 Seemed kinder, and thus in turn to all the three  
 The ring was promised. But he came to die.  
 How should he leave it so that two dear sons  
 Had not to grieve over his broken word?  
 He sent in secret to a jeweller  
 And bade him on the model of his ring  
 Fashion two others, sparing neither cost  
 Nor toil to make them absolutely like it.  
 'Twas done; and when he brought the rings, the father  
 Himself could not distinguish which was his  
 And which the copies. Joyfully he calls  
 His sons in singly, and to each gives, singly,  
 His blessing—and his ring.—Thou hearest, Sultan?

*Sal.* I hear, I hear. But hasten to the end  
 O' the fable.

*Nath.* It is ended, for the rest  
 Need not be told. The father was scarce dead  
 When each came with his ring, and claimed to be  
 Head of the house. Inquiry, strife, complaint—  
 In vain: the true ring could not be determined;—  
*(After a pause, in which he awaits Saladin's answer).*  
 Almost as little as we can now determine  
 The genuine faith. . . .

*Sal.* What, and is that your answer?

*Nath.* No, but the reason why I do not dare  
 Distinguish between things the Father made  
 Expressly to be indistinguishable. . . .  
 The sons then sued each other, and each swore  
 Before the judge that from his father's hand  
 He had the ring directly,—As was true!—  
 According to his promise long before  
 Received—true likewise!—And his father,  
 Each one was sure, could never have betrayed him,  
 And rather than suspect it of a father  
 So dear as theirs, he rather must accuse  
 His brothers—wishful as he was to judge  
 Their conduct with indulgence, of false play.  
 And he would have revenge upon the traitors.

*Sal.* And now, the judge?—How will you make him speak?

*Nath.* The judge said: If you do not bring your father  
 Promptly as witness, I dismiss your suit.  
 Do you imagine that this court is here  
 To answer riddles? Or will ye wait until  
 The right Ring speaks? But stay; I understand  
 The right Ring has the magic property  
 To make a man beloved to God and man.

That must decide ! For this the false Rings cannot  
 Effect !—Well then, which one of you do two of you  
 Love best ? Come speak ! You will not say ?  
 The Rings act only inwards, not without ?  
 It is himself alone that each loves best !  
 —O then you are yourselves all three deceived  
 Deceivers, and your rings, all three, are false.  
 The one true ring presumably was lost.  
 To hide that loss and make it good, the father  
 Had three Rings made for one,

*Sal.*  
*Nath.*

Ah, splendid, splendid.  
 So, the Judge continued, if you wish  
 My sentence only, not my counsel, go !  
 But if you wish my counsel, it is this :  
 Accept the case precisely as it stands.  
 Each of you from his father had his ring :  
 Let each then hold with absolute assurance  
 His ring to be the true one. Possibly  
 The father could no longer tolerate  
 The despotism of the single Ring.  
 And certainly, he loved you all, and loved you  
 Alike, seeing he would not punish two  
 To heap his favour on the third.—Well then !  
 Let each one emulate that uncorrupted,  
 That equal, free, impartial love of his !  
 Let each of you in rivalry with the rest  
 Show forth the magic potency of his ring !  
 Give it effect in gentleness of soul,  
 Hearty good fellowship, and kindly deeds,  
 And in devout submissiveness to God !  
 And should in the children's children of your children  
 The potency of the stones assert itself  
 I bid you once more after thousand thousand  
 Years to this judgment seat again. A wiser  
 Than I will then be seated here and give  
 His judgment. Go !—So spake the humble judge.

*Sal.*  
*Nath.*

God ! God !  
 If, Saladin, thou feelst thyself  
 That wise one he foretold—

*Sal.* (*Rushes to him and clasps his hand*). I am dust ! I am  
 nought ! O God !

*Nath.*

What is it, Sultan ?

*Sal.*

Dear, dear Nathan !  
 Thy judge's thousand thousand years are not  
 Yet over, nor his seat of Judgment mine.  
 Go ! Go ! But be my friend !

Thus did Lessing, with his characteristic union of historic sense and ethical nobility merge the problem of the "truth" of the rival religions in a problem of ethical practice.

But this did not mean that Lessing held all inquiry into truth, in religious matters, to be futile, or that he put all existing religions on the same level in regard to the measure of truth they expressed. That would have been a kind of scepticism only differing in degree from a repudiation of them all as false. Either variety of scepticism would have been foreign to the intellectual intensity and thoroughness of Lessing's nature. His famous saying—the one thing universally known about him—that, if he had to choose, he would rather search for truth for ever without reaching it, than reach it without search—sprang from no indifference to truth. It was the utterance of no sceptic, but of one whose own strenuous intellectual life had taught him the immense difference, as a power for shaping action, between the truth we instinctively imbibe, and that which we have done battle for and arduously won.

To an intellect of this temper, then, Nathan's answer could not be a complete or final solution. And already, in his twenties, he had sketched a history of religion based on the conception of a divinely arranged progression from the more rudimentary to the more complete. Applied to the growth of Christianity out of Judaism this conception had already been enunciated by the Christian fathers—by Irenæus, Clement, Augustine. For them revelation had been partially granted to Moses, before it was completely given through Christ; history so interpreted was already—what Lessing called the work in which he now resumed and restated that early sketch—an "Education of the Human Race." In the idea of such an education there was, then, nothing intrinsically original; nor would Lessing's essay, had that been all, have excited contemporaries or interested posterity as it did and does. But in two points Lessing completely changed the bearing of the traditional conception. In the first place, Christianity, instead of the goal, was itself a phase in the religious "education," destined itself to yield to a religion better befitting a more developed phase of man. This was set forth, not in sharp polemic, but with perfect clearness, in sentences of grave and moving eloquence. The second point was more open to misconception. In 1780, when the *Education of the Human Race* appeared, Lessing had become a convinced follower of Spinoza. His

terms must then be interpreted in the sense of the "God-intoxicated" philosopher of Amsterdam. For Spinoza God was the infinite substance of the universe, of which thought and extension are modes. A God who could "educate" the human race might be the God of the deists, who stood outside the created world, intervening in it from time to time, but hardly the God of Spinoza who was immanent in it, and who acted in and through inflexibly determined laws. All apparent reference to miraculous interventions in the course of nature must then, in Lessing's book, be considered merely as part of the figurative vesture of his own thought. In the eighty-fourth paragraph, as Schrempf and Lessing's biographer, Erich Schmidt, have pointed out, Lessing uses terms which give the clue to his meaning throughout, when he asks : "What human education can effect, is the divine not sufficient for ?" "What art can do for the individual, can Nature not succeed in doing for the Whole ?" Here Nature is definitely put for God ; the "educating" power is the naturally determined course of development. And Lessing looked forward definitely to a perfected humanity as the goal of that "education." Mystical enthusiasts had long foreseen it, but they dreamed that it was at hand ; Lessing did not despair because his "eternal providence" moved forward by imperceptible steps. In the closing sections he even hints that individual man, by living again and again in the world, may continuously participate in the "education" of the race ; and he ends on a note of sublime trust in the inner reason of the world and its final manifestation : "Is not all eternity mine ?"

The influence of Lessing's presentation of religious ideas upon the German thought of the next generation was very great. In particular it inspired the profound stanzas of Goethe's fragment *Die Geheimnisse*, a shadowy picture of the religions of the world, each reaching its epoch of full perfection when it approximates nearest to the spirit of humanity.

A few months later, on 20 February, 1781, Lessing died.

Three years after his death, two illustrious contemporaries passed away, his nearest counterparts, on the whole, in eighteenth-century England and France. Lessing's character and achievement will appear in clearer perspective if we set them for a concluding moment beside those of Denis Diderot and Samuel Johnson.

Lessing's life was by more than half a generation briefer than theirs. Johnson (1711-84) died at seventy-three, Diderot (1713-84)

at seventy-one, Lessing—still in the prime of manhood—at fifty-two. But none of the three manifested any sign of decay. Johnson's finest critical work was done in the year of Lessing's death.

All three came of sterling stock ; all were strenuous workers, reared in simple homes. All of them devoted busy years of their full lives to literary enterprises of national import—the *Dictionary*, the *Encyclopédie*, the Hamburg *Dramaturgie*.

But across this common ground run evident cleavages.

Lessing, Johnson's fellow in honesty and moral force, and Diderot, who with all his sentimental tenderness shared to the full in the corruption of the French "Enlightenment," were both, on the contrary, great pioneers, fertile and fertilizing minds, who heralded the nineteenth century as Johnson prolonged the seventeenth. Lessing, like Johnson, confronted and did his best to stem the literary hegemony of France. But for all that, Lessing is, here also, rather the ally of Diderot, who, like him, strove to break down the closed circle of French classic art, than of Johnson, who, decried the "dancing-master's manners and morals," of Chesterfield, and the "wickedness" of Voltaire and Rousseau, in the name of a sturdy (or even surly) British virtue immovably embedded in traditional ideas. Johnson, as a literary critic, habitually vindicated prescribed order against the irregular vitality of genius ; Diderot, a rebel against all law, asserted with all his power the supreme worth in literature of energy, nature, and life. Lessing, demanding law in literature as inflexibly as Johnson, and energy and vitality as insistently as Diderot, was the less conscious of anomaly or contradiction because for him the first fundamental law of literature was action.

Lessing nowhere betrays any interest in Johnson. But he was throughout his early manhood deeply influenced by Diderot, and may be called his, if he may be called any man's, disciple. Less richly endowed than the Frenchman with æsthetic sensibility, but far more variously and exactly learned than either he or Johnson, he united Johnson's force of character with Diderot's wealth and play of mind. Johnson used a powerful logic to assail innovators to whose genius, as with Gray, and more excusably with Ossian, he was blind ; Lessing used a no less powerful and far more flexible logic to destroy the glamour of idols ignorantly worshipped.

And Lessing stands perceptibly above Diderot and Johnson alike

in that union of large aims and comprehensive outlook with inner coherence which is so rare in the careers of men of genius. Passion for truth, intellect to perceive it, energy in pursuing it, national and human purpose glowing at the roots of faculty so that scholarship never becomes pedantry, nor conviction dogmatism—these were the elements which shaped and maintained the synthesis of which that coherence was the result. Aims which often distract and disintegrate men served to knit all his powers together. Poetry, science, and the practical conduct of life were not for him distinct departments, but related energies working under the same control to the same end. *Nathan*, his noblest poem, is tense with the passion for knowledge and with the passion for noble life.

This union of poetry, science, and idealism, was to be far more completely exhibited in the author of *Faust*. But it was already struck out by the author of *Nathan the Wise*. And Lessing had himself sketched a Faust-drama which nobly symbolizes the passion of his life. The Faustus of the mediæval legend was a conjurer who sold himself to the devil for the sake of forbidden knowledge, and was duly carried off to hell in the end for his pains. Lessing makes him a daring thinker to whom Truth is sacred whithersoever it leads ; and who is therefore vindicated by the divine powers and snatched from the fiends. In the old play, a good angel had warned the magician to desist : “ O Faust, Faust, thou art damned for ever ! ” In Lessing it is the devils to whom the good angels utter their warning cry : “ Ye shall not conquer ! ” and when they think they have won : “ Triumph not ; ye have not overcome Man and Knowledge ! God has not given Man his noblest impulse only to make him for ever unhappy ! ”<sup>1</sup> That may be the voice of the eighteenth century rationalist ; but it is a voice that rings for ever in the chorus of the deathless Spirit of Man.

<sup>1</sup> Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, I. 370 f.

# THE ROOTS OF HEBREW PROPHECY AND JEWISH APOCALYPTIC.

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**I**T is not always easy for us to trace to their sources movements and tendencies which are momentous in our own day. The quest of origins is proverbially difficult. The tracks as we follow them backward grow fainter till they become imperceptible. And naturally when we are dealing with a movement in antiquity which, even in its brightest period, is all too dimly seen, we must not be surprised if the problem of origins baffles us. Our records are scanty at the best, and much information that would be priceless to us is not preserved because it was too commonplace or familiar to be put on record.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance and the influence of Israel. That tiny people ranks for us with Greece and Rome when we are estimating our incalculable debt to antiquity. Primarily it is of its religion that we think, alike for its own intrinsic value and because Christianity grew out of it. But this religion found expression in a literature of lofty quality ; and even if the religion should be set aside, the literature would remain a possession for ever. Of this religion Hebrew prophecy is the most splendid flower ; and if other Hebrew writings may rank as literature with the finest prophecies, or perhaps even surpass them, yet prophecy, rather than the Psalms or the Wisdom Books, is the mightiest creation of the Hebrew spirit. He who would understand the richness and depth of the religion of Israel and rightly measure the range and quality of its influence must beyond everything else steep himself in the study of the great prophets. For even if at certain points the Psalmists may rise to loftier heights of thought or expression, or touch profounder levels of experience, it is the prophets who have made this possible ; for in these instances they

are original and creative, the Psalmists secondary and dependent. No pains then can be too great which are spent in learning to appreciate them ; and though my present concern is not with prophecy in the noble splendour of its maturity, yet the task of uncovering the roots that we may the better understand the forces which created the flower will not be without its reward.

Although Abraham and Moses are described as “ prophets,” that is the application to them of a later term which was not appropriate except in a very loose sense. The narrative of the seventy elders who received a portion of Yahweh’s Spirit and prophesied at the Tent of Meeting in the wilderness, is closely related to the stories of the prophets in the time of Saul. The prophetic frenzy is evanescent and it does not return ; and when Eldad and Medad shared the experience and prophesied in the camp, and Moses rebuked the scandalised Joshua, desiring that Yahweh would put His Spirit upon all so that all the Lord’s people might be prophets, it was not of anything beyond this passing ecstasy that he was thinking. But whether we regard this narrative as historical or as reflecting a condition of things which was really much later, it is of no special importance for our particular purpose. The story is isolated, no results seem to flow from it. It does not initiate any new and eventful movement.

To find the historical roots of Hebrew prophecy we must move forward to the age of Samuel. Samuel himself is described as a seer, and though a note in the narrative (1 Sam. ix. 9) seems to identify the prophet with the seer, the names being later and earlier terms for the same class, we should probably regard them as distinct. If we assumed that the seers and the prophets, after maintaining their separate identity for a period, finally coalesced, then the name “ prophet,” surviving as the designation of the whole, might not unnaturally be employed for one of the elements in the combination to which it was not strictly applicable.

A seer, as the name indicates, is one who sees, that is who sees what the ordinary man cannot see. Of Balaam it is said that his eye was closed, that he heard the words of God, saw the vision of God, falling down and having his eyes open. This seems to mean that he falls in a trance with his eyes closed, but with the inner eye open for the vision of God. The seers as a class were wise men, who were consulted by those who were in difficulties and received a fee for their

professional services. A typical case is that of Samuel, to whom Saul goes to enquire about his father's asses. Samuel was, it is true, no common seer, but we learn from this narrative what the profession involved. The seers would contribute to the combination their cooler judgment, their insight, their shrewdness in dealing with practical problems, while the prophets would bring to it their fiery enthusiasm.

It is in the time of Samuel that the prophets begin to be prominent. We do not know whether they had an earlier history, but they appeared at the time when the Hebrews were groaning under the oppression of the Philistines. Saul, who is selected by Samuel as the liberator of his people, comes in contact with a band of prophets, he is seized with their infectious ecstasy and, to the surprise of everyone, himself becomes a prophet. It is of course clear that prophecy is at this stage very rudimentary, with scarcely, it would seem, anything in common with the later activities of the great prophets. We are struck at once by its connexion with certain physical conditions. Music seems to have played a large part in the exercises. Saul is told by Samuel that he will meet a band of prophets, with a psaltery and a timbrel and a pipe and a harp before them, and when he meets them they will be prophesying. So too at a later period Elisha, when he was consulted by the King of Israel and his allies, called for a minstrel; and when the minstrel played before him the hand of Yahweh came upon him. The effect of the music was not, as we might have supposed, to soothe the prophet that he might the better hear the voice of God. It was rather designed to excite him and induce a condition of ecstasy. We have several indications of this in the history. Thus one form of the verb "to prophesy" in Hebrew means also "to rave;" and in the narrative of Saul's attempt on David's life, the text of the Revised Version says that Saul prophesied in the midst of the house, but the margin gives the alternative rendering "raved." Similarly the prophet who anointed Jehu gave the impression to Jehu's comrades that he was mad. The same abnormal element appeared in Elijah, when the hand of the Lord was upon him and he ran before the chariot of Ahab from Carmel to Jezreel.

I have already touched on the contagious character of prophecy in my reference to the experience of Saul when he met the band of prophets. The Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him, he

prophesied with them and was turned into another man. The strength of the influence and the measure of its transforming energy may be inferred from the amazement which Saul's experience occasioned. It found expression in an exclamation which passed into a proverb: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" But in a late narrative, which gives another account of the origin of this proverb, we are told of a similar phenomenon. When he sent messengers to capture David, who had taken refuge with Samuel at Naioth, they saw the company of prophets prophesying and Samuel standing as head over them. They were seized with the infectious ecstasy, and the same experience happened to two other companies of messengers and finally to Saul himself. The case of the seventy elders illustrates how the prophetic impulse might run like wildfire through a group, and even communicate the contagion to members of the group who had remained behind in the camp when the others had gone out to the Tent of Meeting. Another form of psychical phenomena, illustrated in the history of prophecy, is clairvoyance, as in Elisha's words to Gehazi, as he returned from the interview with Naaman: "Went not mine heart with thee, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee?" Ezekiel in particular is notable in this respect. Future events are vividly seen in the prophetic trance. Voices are heard, of God or of heavenly beings. If abnormal physical strength sometimes comes with the prophetic ecstasy, it may leave the prophet in a state of physical collapse. The Book of Daniel belongs to apocalyptic rather than to prophetic literature but it illustrates this point. After one of his visions and its interpretation we read that he fainted and was sick certain days. And on other occasions he says that his strength completely left him. The experience itself might sometimes be one of rapture, at other times it might fill the soul with horror or rack it with excruciating agony.

When we remember the wild contagious excitement, the infectious frenzy, of the early prophets there is no reason for surprise if, as is often supposed, they had no very high reputation at this time. It was just their eccentricities which would catch the popular eye and determine the popular estimate that they were more or less mad. It is usually thought that the question "Is Saul also among the prophets?" expresses the amazement of his friends that so respectable and steady a man as Saul should have joined a band of strolling enthusiasts.

This may not be the correct interpretation of the passage, though there is much to make it plausible.

The fact that the prophets come into prominence at the time of the Philistine oppression, has suggested to many scholars that the movement was patriotic and directed to the attainment of national freedom. It must be remembered that religion and patriotism were vitally associated from the very foundation of Israel's existence as a nation. Thus the impulse to achieve national independence would carry with it an intenser devotion to the national Deity. The prophets would combine a zeal for freedom with zeal for Yahweh of Hosts. Samuel himself seems to have been a seer rather than a prophet ; but he sympathised with the aims of the prophets, and predicted that the champion whom he had chosen to vindicate the liberties of his nation would experience the Divine enthusiasm and catch the contagion of the prophetic ecstasy. It is possible of course that prophecy appeared among the Hebrews before the Philistine invasion, and that it did not have its root in reaction against a foreign tyranny. It has often been supposed that it was not native to the religion of Israel, but derived from an external source. Generally it has been to Canaanite influence that its importation into Israel has been attributed. The Hebrews incorporated a large number of Canaanites and, with the adoption of the settled agricultural life, they took over the cult of the Baalim, that is the local divinities on whose favour and co-operation the fertility of the soil was thought to depend. It is asserted that the Canaanites had prophets of a character similar to that already depicted. It is true that the narrative of Elijah's contest on Carmel with the prophets of the Tyrian Baal shows that they went to wilder excesses in religious dancing and self-laceration than the prophets of Israel. But at any rate the antagonists of Elijah and the early Hebrew prophets had the ecstatic element in common. On the other hand the prophets confronted by Elijah were not Canaanite prophets but Phoenician. They were prophets of a foreign deity. We know nothing of Canaanite prophets. And it is questioned whether a movement so zealous for the worship of Yahweh would have taken over for its propaganda a form of religious exercise characteristic of Canaanite religion.

We cannot, however, build with any confidence on such arguments. That the prophets would have refrained from conscious adaptation of

elements derived from the paganism of Canaan may be true. But we need not think of deliberate borrowing. The Hebrews were very susceptible to their environment and it was not so much in modes of worship, or forms in which religious emotion found expression, as in the object to which worship was directed and the higher ideas by which they were re-interpreted that the genius of Israel stamped its religion with a unique quality. And the salient characteristics of early prophecy are such as we find in other lands and among other races. They seem to spring spontaneously out of the very nature of religion. It should be added, however, that recent investigation has tended to bring home the very complex character of the religion which the Hebrews found in Palestine at the time of their settlement. And it has been suggested that ultimately this corybantic prophecy really had its origin in the Dionysiac orgies of Thrace and Asia Minor, the movement spreading on the one side to Syria and Canaan and on the other to Greece. At present it is advisable to hold our judgment in suspense on the question whether prophecy was a foreign importation in Israel and if so from what people it was derived.

The question of foreign origin has recently come into special prominence in connexion with the eschatology of the prophets. It is rather unfortunate that the reaction from the old-fashioned view that prophecy was in the main prediction has led to the prevalent belief that the prophets were scarcely concerned with the future at all, but only with declaring the will of God for His people, denouncing the sin of their contemporaries and threatening them with speedy judgment if they failed to reform. Reaction was needed, but it has swung to an extreme. For really the predictive element in prophecy was very prominent. In the main, no doubt, prophecy before the destruction of Jerusalem was concerned with judgment. This is clear from a famous passage in Jeremiah. When Hananiah predicted that Jehoiachin and the captives, together with the Temple vessels, would be brought back to Jerusalem within two years, Jeremiah replied that he hoped the prophecy might come true. But he went on to say : "The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The prophet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him." In other words, Jeremiah regarded the characteristic note of

true prophecy to be a prediction of calamity. And we find that Amos, the earliest of our literary prophets, utters a warning against the optimism of the people who expected the Day of Yahweh to be a day of triumph : “ Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord ! wherefore would ye have the day of the Lord ? it is darkness and not light. As if a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him ; or went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of the Lord be darkness and not light ? even very dark, and no brightness in it ? ” But in the portions of the prophetic writings, which we can with some confidence date before the destruction of Jerusalem, we have a number of passages which depict a glorious future for Israel. And after the downfall of Judah prophecy became largely a message of consolation. This continued even after the return from captivity. For the fortunes of the people were still miserable, and multitudes remained in the land of captivity or were scattered in the Dispersion.

The tendency among scholars has been to reduce the extent of optimistic prophecy before the Exile, and this has led to the denial on an increasing scale of the authenticity of such passages at present found in pre-exilic prophecies. But even those critics, who have not gone to such drastic extremes as Duhm or Marti, yet have held for the most part that the eschatology was a comparatively late development. Predictions of future felicity might be pre-exilic ; but in the main the older prophets were prophets of disaster, and eschatology was a comparatively late development. Opinions differed as to the route by which the conviction of impending catastrophe was reached. Generally it was thought to have a moral root. The prophets felt deeply the sin of Israel and realised intensely its intolerable incompatibility with the righteousness of Yahweh. They preached repentance and reform but did not believe that their message would be received. Hence the speedy coming of judgment was in their belief inevitable. Against this it was urged by others that we cannot understand why such an inference should have arisen only in Israel and why it should have extended only over a period of four hundred years. Why should there have been such long periods without prophecy ? Hence Wellhausen laid stress on the foreboding of the future. He compared the prophets with storm-birds, sensitive to approaching change, who were moved to utterance by the conviction that Yahweh was about to do something.

Or again prediction was derived from an acute observation of the political conditions, and might in some cases be regarded as prophecy after the event. There was, however, another possibility. It might have been due not to instinctive anticipation or political or moral inference, but to tradition. In that case the prophets did not draw their certainty of judgment from the contradiction between a Holy God and an unclean people, or from keener insight into the political forces at work, or from their instinctive anticipation of calamity ; but they applied to the situation a traditional scheme familiar to themselves and their hearers. This scheme embraced not only the prophecy of disaster but that of restoration and blessedness.

Several advocates of this view argue that the scheme was borrowed from abroad. This conclusion was independently reached along two lines. Eduard Meyer brought forward proofs that such a scheme existed in Egypt. Gressmann argued for it on the Old Testament evidence. Gunkel had previously expressed the view that there was in Israel a pre-prophetic eschatology. In his commentary on Genesis he said in reply to the view that the Messianic element in Jacob's blessing on Judah was a late interpolation : " Modern scholars are of the opinion that the eschatology of Israel was a creation of the literary prophets, hence they strike out the verse since it contradicts this fundamental conviction. The author of this commentary does not share this conviction ; he believes on the contrary that the prophets can be understood only on the assumption that they found an eschatology already in existence, took it over, contested it, transformed it. This pre-prophetic eschatology is here attested." Gressmann worked out the evidence most thoroughly. Both he and Gunkel lay stress on the mythical survivals in the descriptions of the future, especially in the imagery, which could not have originated in Israel. Sellin tries to trace back the evidence in the pre-prophetic period ; but he believes that the eschatology, while it may employ mythical imagery, yet grew directly out of the fundamental ideas of Israel's religion.

It will be seen at once that this implies a totally different attitude to the origin of eschatology. Wellhausen argued that eschatology was an artificial creation, it had a literary origin. The older prophets started with the actual situation and their predictions grew out of the historical facts. Ezekiel created eschatology by starting, not from the actual conditions, but from literary sources, that is from earlier prophecies.

Thus the prophecies occasioned by the Scythian peril in the reign of Josiah were the origin of Ezekiel's prophecy on Gog. From the Exile onwards fantastic forecasts were made of a general combination of God knows what nations against the New Jerusalem, for which in reality there was no occasion at all. Sellin who is opposed to this theory has thus formulated it. "For pre-exilic eschatology a psychological explanation is to be given, for eschatology after Ezekiel, a literary."

This theory as to the origin of the eschatology naturally affected the literary criticism of the books. The prophets interpreted history and foretold the future in the light of great fundamental ideas. Then the eschatological writers constructed their scheme of the future from the data of the prophets. There was accordingly a strong and increasing tendency to reject the authenticity of eschatological passages in pre-exilic prophecy. Critics of this school argued that earlier prophecies, relating to contemporary conditions, had been adjusted to later eschatological theories. The eschatologists on the other hand contend that an old eschatological scheme was adapted by the prophets to contemporary conditions. They are therefore ready to recognise the authenticity of many passages in pre-exilic prophecy, which scholars like Duhm and Marti relegated to the post-exilic period. It ought of course to be recognised that in the criticism of the prophets, passages are frequently assigned to a late date on grounds which are not connected with any theory on the origin of eschatology. The presence of ideas which we have independent reasons for regarding as late in their origin, allusions to events or conditions of a later time, expressions characteristic of the post-exilic period, literary dependence on late originals, may all serve as criteria pointing to post-exilic date. At the same time it is undeniable that if the origin of the prophetic eschatology is traced to Ezekiel there will be a strong temptation to approach the study of particular passages with a certain bias in favour of a late date. Wellhausen himself applied the principle with much more moderation than Duhm, while Duhm has not been so thorough-going as Marti. My personal judgment on the matter is that it is not safe to settle the date of a particular passage by this criterion alone. Yet there are not a few passages that fall into this category which are probably late rather than early. And as the number of these passages grows, the tendency is not unjustified to recognise a certain presumption that passages which betray a close kinship with them are likely to belong to the same period.

I may illustrate what I have been saying by reference to the closing verses of Amos. This is a typically eschatological passage. It was regarded by Wellhausen as a late appendix and his verdict has been very widely accepted. But the important point to emphasise is that his case did not rest on the assumption that a passage of this kind must, since it was eschatological, in the nature of the case be late. He based it on the glaring contradiction it presents to what has gone before. After Amos had expressed his conviction of judgment in its most drastic form, he could not have broken the point of all that he had been saying, assured his hearers that matters would not be so bad after all, substituted roses and lavender for blood and iron or allowed milk and honey to pour from the goblet of Yahweh's wrath. It is accordingly not surprising that Gunkel in his recent work on the prophets says : "The close of the Book of Amos (ix. 8 ff.) is according to the generally accepted opinion non-authentic." It is interesting, however, that both Eduard Meyer and Sellin argue for its authenticity. Meyer does not contend that the contradiction does not exist. He says : "The closing chapter of Amos, which is generally regarded as a late addition, I consider to be in all essentials genuine, and its ideas as indispensable for the book of the prophet. It is usually forgotten that contradictions in ideas often exist harmoniously side by side in an author and entirely so in a prophet, who ought never to be judged by rules of logic." For my own part I think the price Eduard Meyer pays for the authenticity of the passage is too high. Sellin, in his volume of studies entitled *Der Alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (1912), met the difficulty in another way. Amos did not utter the closing passage in Bethel. The total destruction announced by him concerned North Israel alone. The closing passage refers only to Judah, and was added by the prophet when on his way home he halted at Jerusalem and put his book together there. It was obvious to him as to any other Israelite that the downfall of the Northern Kingdom was not the end of God's ways. The final thing on earth was the salvation for which all the fathers had hoped. How could this be expressed otherwise than in ix. 11-15 ? The God of Amos, he says, was more than a logical category (pp. 32 f.). I see no reason for this very hypothetical reconstruction of history, and one would have expected the contrast which Sellin found to have been clearly indicated. It is interesting that in the third edition of his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1920) he offers quite a different explanation. He says

it is obvious that Amos cannot have uttered the prophecy in question immediately after ix. 1-4. But all objections disappear as soon as it is recognised that it once stood after vii. 10-17, and was a continuation of the doom announced to Amaziah, for whom, as for Israel, the brilliant future of Judah signified a verdict of destruction. This reconstruction is also quite hypothetical and the actual language of the passage does not seem to suit the situation to which Sellin assigns it.

So far I have not explained in any detail the grounds on which the eschatological theory is based. In certain Egyptian documents Eduard Meyer discovered Egyptian prophecies with a fixed eschatological scheme. The general outline is as follows : A wise man unveils to the king Egypt's future, falls dead and is solemnly buried by the king, his prophecies are recorded and handed down to later generations. Their content is that, first a period of terrible misery is coming, in which everything in Egypt is turned upside down, foreign nations burst in, the temples are plundered and desecrated, their mysteries are unveiled, while the king himself is carried off as a prisoner or has to flee to a foreign land. Then, however, an epoch follows, in which the gods again bestow their favour on the land, and a righteous ruler, beloved of the gods, of the seed of Rê, drives out the enemy, restores the cultus and the ancient order, subdues the neighbouring countries, and enjoys a long and fortunate reign. Meyer thinks that the numerous points of contact between this scheme and Old Testament prophecy need no further exposition. The scheme is in its fundamental features entirely the same ; first a time of severe affliction, the destruction of the civil power, the devastation of the country and its sanctuaries, then the glory of the Messianic kingdom under the righteous king, beloved of the gods, of the old legitimate stock to whom all nations will be made subject. This scheme is to be found in all the Hebrew prophets, from whom we possess extensive remains, composed in written form by the prophets themselves. This scheme, he continues, the material content of all prophecy, undoubtedly comes from Egypt. The prophets did not spring from Egypt, they were Canaanite ; and just as little were the solitary men, brooding in melancholy, like Amos and Hosea, who were not nor wished to be prophets, under their influence. But this traditional history of the future came to Palestine like other fine histories ; and the great Israelite prophets fastened on to it and made it the foundation of their preaching and thereby filled it with quite a new spiritual

content. It was here as with the old Babylonian dragon myth, which, when turned into a history of the future, formed the basis of eschatology. But the spirit which filled the Old Testament prophets was absent from this eschatology ; so the prophets' pictures of the future had quite another worth and an eternal significance than the Jewish and Christian and ancient Egyptian Apocalypses ever gained.

I have said that Gressmann reached his belief in a pre-prophetic eschatology derived by Israel from abroad along lines quite different from those which led Meyer to a similar result ; and the convergence of two independent lines of enquiry may seem a striking testimony in favour of the conclusion reached. On the question of foreign origin Gressmann has since expressed the opinion that the probability is more in favour of Egypt than Babylonia, although there may have been similar expectations throughout the nearer East. Moreover in Palestine the influence of Egypt and Babylonia may have crossed. He adds : " The characteristic difference in the oracles of the two peoples is that the Egyptians only repeat the usual phrases while the Israelites transform the type individually here and everywhere. Therefore the Messianic prophecies in Israel had a long and important history, while in Egypt they remained unaltered through the centuries." Gunkel considers the Egyptian parallels as of the highest significance, but will not allow that they gave rise to the Hebrew prophecies. He draws attention especially to the absence in the Egyptian sources of the cosmic, mythological imagery which is so frequent in the writings of the prophets ; quoting as instances of this, the burning of the world, the universal deluge, a new chaos and a new creation, the wars of the deity against the powers of the deep and of heaven, a kingdom of peace even among the beasts. Yet while he argues that we could infer from the Old Testament itself that another and more popular prophecy had preceded that of the great prophets, and that Israelite eschatology had grown up on the basis of a borrowed foreign eschatology, he says nevertheless that the eschatology of the prophets and psalmists is in its present form a thoroughly Israelite phenomenon and filled with ideas which are peculiarly Israelite. As a whole it is undoubtedly the creation of the great literary prophets.

It may be questioned however, whether the existence of this ancient Egyptian eschatology has not been too hastily affirmed. For example, H. O. Lange of Copenhagen, speaking of the hieratic papyrus known

as *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, affirmed that the speeches of the sage were prophetic in character predicting an era of disaster for Egypt for which the king is responsible. The advent of a Saviour is prophesied, a wise and mild ruler who will restore order among his people and inaugurate an age of happiness and prosperity. This prophecy of restoration Lange regarded as quite Messianic in its colouring, both the form in which it is put and the choice of words recalling those higher flights of Hebrew prophecy that speak of a coming Messiah. Dr. Alan Gardner, however, is convinced that there is no prophecy at all in these passages. He says : " At all events it seems now to be clear that whichever hypothesis scholars may choose, there is too much uncertainty about the matter for it to be made the basis of any far-reaching conclusions as to the influence of Egyptian on Hebrew literature." And at the close of the discussion he says : " Before leaving the subject of its contents, I must once more affirm that there is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book."

Sellin reduces the Egyptian parallels to two ; but he does not accept Meyer's view as to the indebtedness of Hebrew prophecy to Egyptian influence. He endorses König's criticism that we ought to have found the Egyptian scheme in the professional prophets, the opponents of Micah or Jeremiah, who were much more susceptible than the great prophets to foreign influence. But they say, Peace, where there is no peace, no disaster can overtake us. Sellin also emphasises the difference in the sense attached to calamity and deliverance in the Egyptian and Hebrew prophecies. The former simply described national catastrophes, adding the hope of a new future. In Israel calamity is the judgment of the inexorably righteous God upon sin, and the coming of the Kingdom of God is proclaimed, of which in the Egyptian texts there is not the slightest trace.

Hölscher in his volume on the Prophets takes a still less favourable view. Acknowledging a certain connexion between the Egyptian form of literature and the literary scheme of the Jewish prophetic literature, he urges that the influence as to the age of this scheme on Hebrew soil remains unproved. Against it lie the objections to the authenticity of most of the predictions of blessedness in the old prophetic books, objections which have not been refuted. Nor is the mere antithesis of misfortune and blessedness necessarily to be derived from a mythical or a literary scheme. Moreover the

Egyptian influence on ancient Israel is minute even to vanishing point, and the religious ideas and usages of the Hebrews in the early period nowhere betray any traces of Egyptian influence. If such influence is to be assumed, it can belong only to a much later period and it must have been mediated through the later Jewish communities in Egypt.

It will be clear then that we cannot with any confidence assert the derivation of the prophetic eschatology from an Egyptian source. It is also uncertain whether we are entitled to attribute it to a foreign origin at all. Gunkel and Gressmann think the imagery we find in the eschatological descriptions points to derivations from foreign mythology. It is quite possible that imagery foreign in origin might be used to depict religious ideas which were a later development, and if there was a pre-prophetic eschatology in Israel it may have grown from a genuine Hebrew root, developed from the fundamental principles of the religion. This is Sellin's position. But, when all is said, it must still be regarded as very questionable whether there was in early Israel any developed eschatology at all.

## II.

I pass on to the origin of Jewish Apocalyptic. The general distinction between prophecy and apocalyptic may be best realised if we place a typical prophetic book alongside of an apocalypse, for example *Amos* by the side of *Daniel*. Biblical apocalypses are to be found in *Daniel*, *Revelation* and *II Esdras*. Other apocalypses are the *Book of Enoch*, the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Assumption of Moses*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. But it is not possible to draw a clear-cut distinction between the two, because the transition from one to the other was gradual, and the later prophecy is in many cases a good deal marked with apocalyptic features. Here I return to matters already mentioned. I have already pointed out that the great pre-exilic prophets were mainly concerned with the religious and moral condition of their own people. With but slight exceptions they are emphatic in their condemnation of sinful Israel and Judah; they anticipate that the people of God will be punished by a heathen power which is the rod of Yahweh's anger. When the Northern Kingdom had fallen, prophecy was concentrated on Judah and was

very largely prophecy of approaching judgment. Yet some qualification must be made. There are prophecies of a radiant future in the earlier prophetic books, whose pre-exilic origin we have no good reason for doubting. Yet glowing forecasts of the blessed future have been added somewhat freely in the later period to prophecies of judgment, especially in the form of happy endings. Another qualification must be made. While the great prophets proclaim that the primary object of Yahweh's anger is His own people, the prophecy of Nahum is directed entirely against Nineveh. He brings no complaint against the morality or righteousness of Judah. His hot and fierce indignation is poured out exclusively upon the heathen oppressor. A similar view has been taken in various forms with reference to Habakkuk, but I believe incorrectly.

No sooner is Jerusalem destroyed than the whole character of prophecy is transformed. This was due to the terrible fate which had overtaken the Jews. Now that they had been carried into captivity with their city destroyed, their temple in ruins, their national existence brought to an end, it was felt that the stroke of judgment had fallen and henceforward the prophet must provide for the future. We see the actual transition in the message of Ezekiel. His ministry began in 592, while Jerusalem and the first temple were still standing; he outlived the destruction of the city for a considerable period; and his prophecy comes to us from both these periods in his life. He is uncompromising in the severity of the judgment he passes on Israel's history from beginning to end. He speaks with loathing and with anger, not only of his contemporaries in Palestine, but of all the past generations whether in Egyptian bondage, in the wilderness or in Canaan. There is no redeeming feature in the indictment he draws up against his people through the whole of its history. And this unrelieved condemnation is matched by his prediction of unsparing retribution. But when the city was in ruins and the people were in exile, he turned his face towards the future. Not that he retracted his judgments on the people. His estimate of its moral character and ungrateful apostasy is just as stern as ever. But as he contemplates the destiny of the people, his tone entirely changes. He predicts the return from exile to Palestine. He contemplates a regenerate and happy community, a re-united Israel living under a Davidic prince in security in its own land, the old ceremonial established in a new

temple in which Yahweh Himself will dwell in the midst of His people. He also foretells how, when the hosts of heathendom assail the apparently defenceless Israelites, Yahweh without human aid will utterly overthrow them. The other great prophet of the Exile, the author of Isaiah 40-55, who is commonly called the Second Isaiah, foretold in glowing language the return of the Jews from exile, the rebuilding of the Temple, the bliss of the redeemed in their ancestral home.

The return from captivity took place ; but the Jews entered on a long period of disillusion. On the political side the old tradition was simply continued. The downfall of Assyria had not meant the liberation of Judah, for she fell first into the power of Egypt and in a few years passed under the sway of Babylon. The Second Isaiah predicted that Cyrus would destroy the Babylonian power. That came to pass. But while a certain number went back to their own land, they did not secure political independence ; they remained subject to Persia and in later times suffered much from the Persian Government. Alexander the Great broke the power of Persia, but the Jews did not go free, they were still under foreign rule. And when Alexander's empire broke up, first Egypt and then Syria kept them in subjection. Their material conditions were often distressing. Thus, while the prophecies of the downfall of tyrants had been fulfilled, the fulfilment only meant the change of one tyrant for another. They came to realise that in the overthrow of empires there was no relief from their miseries.

We are thus able to understand how the outlook of apocalyptic is differentiated from that of prophecy. The anticipations of the prophets are conditioned by contemporary political conditions. Isaiah expects judgment to be inflicted by Assyria, Jeremiah anticipates it from Babylonia. The Second Isaiah predicts deliverance from Babylonia, but it is to be effected by the triumph of Cyrus. In apocalyptic this is not the case. Apocalypses have been described in a happy phrase as "tracts for bad times." The writers have come to despair of any relief through normal political action in international affairs. They rely no longer on human agency, whether in the form of insurrection or the overthrow of the oppressor by a foreign power. Experience showed that insurrection was worse than futile and if one empire was overthrown by a successful conqueror, a new tyrant simply

took the place of the old. Hence they were driven to turn from earth to heaven, from man to God. God Himself will intervene to crush the oppressor and establish His kingdom on earth.

Since deliverance does not come from any development in the political situation but by Divine intervention, no visible movement of events will lead up to it. Whatever preparation there may or may not be in the unseen world, the action of God will come on men like lightning out of a clear sky. "When they are saying Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them." We find in the earlier prophets something parallel, but with a more limited application. For example Isaiah says: "At eventide behold terror; and before the morning they are not. This is the portion of them that spoil us and the lot of them that rob us." This refers simply to the overthrow of a great invading army, which strikes horror into God's people but is annihilated in the night. But Ezekiel is here, as in so much besides, the ultimate literary source. He anticipates that when Israel is living in peace and security after its restoration to Palestine, Yahweh will lure Gog to his destruction, by the prospect of easy victory and rich spoil. For Israel will be dwelling in unwallled villages with no fortifications and apparently defenceless. When Gog and his multitudinous hordes comes from the ends of the earth, greedy for their certain spoil, Israel will need to lift no hand in self-defence, for God will destroy them with pestilence and tempest, with fire and brimstone, and by inciting them to mutual slaughter.

How then did Ezekiel's anticipation originate? It was in the first instance the outcome of his theodicy. His fundamental doctrine was the sovereignty and glory of God. In all His action God has His own glory for His supreme end. The whole course of history is directed to that goal. By its misconduct Israel had compromised the reputation of its God in the sight of the heathen. The merited judgment had been again and again averted. But now the Divine patience has been exhausted and judgment has fallen on the guilty nation. But this has compromised Yahweh's reputation afresh, for the overthrow of His people can be interpreted by the heathen as due only to the weakness of its God. Hence Yahweh must demonstrate His supreme power by restoring His people from exile to their own land. Again and again it is affirmed that regard for His own glory, tender pity for His own outraged reputation, is the motive for His action. But the

restoration of Israel is not enough ; Yahweh has an account to settle with the heathen for their misjudgment of Him and for the insults they have heaped upon Him. And so, still with the all-controlling purpose of vindicating His holy name, He entices Gog and all his vast multitudes to fall on defenceless Israel, that He may thus, by this appalling slaughter, for ever secure His glory in the sight of the nations. “It shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring thee against my land, that the nations may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes.” “And I will magnify myself, and sanctify myself, and I will make myself known in the eyes of many nations ; and they shall know that I am Yahweh.” It is again and again affirmed that the restoration of Israel is not accomplished for Israel’s own sake. Such passages as these are characteristic. “I do not this for your sake, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name, which ye have profaned among the nations, whither ye went.” “Not for your sake do I this, saith the Lord Yahweh, be it known unto you : be ashamed and confounded for your ways O house of Israel.” It is this conception of a ruler of the universe, self-centred, jealous for His reputation, feeling it intolerable to be misjudged by the heathen, brooding over the insults they had heaped upon Him, and finally demonstrating His supremacy by the vast holocaust of the heathen whom He had inspired to undertake their ill-fated expedition, which is the main root of this prophecy.

But it was not simply the doctrine of Yahweh’s outraged dignity, to which reparation must be made, that accounts for it. The form which Yahweh’s exemplary vengeance takes was suggested by earlier prophecy which Ezekiel considers to have been unfulfilled. He represents Yahweh as saying to God : “Art thou he of whom I spake in old time by my servants the prophets of Israel, which prophesied in those days for many years that I would bring you against them.” Ezekiel seems to have in mind those prophecies in Jeremiah and Zephaniah which referred originally to the Scythians. It is axiomatic for him that prophecy must be fulfilled, hence from his study of unfulfilled prophecies he creates new prophecies. This literary method is characteristic for apocalyptic. Thus Daniel is represented as brooding over the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah “for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem.” Gabriel explains to him that the seventy years are seventy weeks, that is seventy weeks of years, each year in

Jeremiah's prophecy being multiplied by seven. This calculation starts from the fact that the prophecy has not been fulfilled in its literal sense. It is therefore obvious to the writer that the literal is not the real sense. Hence we have a re-interpretation, a feature very familiar to students of our modern apocalyptists who, when one reinterpretation after another breaks down, never draw the conclusion that the whole method is at fault, but devise some new reinterpretation.

With this study and reinterpretation of older prophecy there naturally goes a systematisation. Forecasts of the future which were originally independent and might even, because they sprang out of different circumstances, be superficially contradictory, would be brought together and combined into a coherent scheme of future history, which would become more extensive as the range of material from which the scheme was derived became fuller. It was believed that a scheme or programme of history had been laid down by God, that the fixed order of events inscribed on the heavenly tablets must be exactly carried out. Given sufficient data and correct methods of calculation, and the whole development of history would become plain. In particular by identifying events in past history with those indicated in the scheme, it would become possible to determine what point in the programme history had actually reached and fix the interval which had to be traversed before the consummation was attained. Hence the calculation of times and seasons becomes an important part of the apocalyptist's task, with any adjustment or reinterpretation that the failure of earlier calculations may involve. This may account for a feature which is at first sight very perplexing, namely the very long record of historical events given in predictive form in some apocalypses. The most familiar example is found in the Book of Daniel. According to the generally received judgment of scholars that book, at least in its present form, dates from 165 or 164 B.C. But it contains a good deal of earlier history, often of a rather minute kind, related in the form of prophecy. The prediction is ostensibly uttered from a much earlier period than that in which it was actually composed. But when the author's own time is actually reached and the assumed standpoint gives place to the real, history in the guise of prediction changes into prediction proper, and what had been minutely foretold, because it had already happened, is now replaced by real prediction which becomes vague and general. The reason for this may have been that the prediction of so long a

series of events, with an accuracy that the reader can test, inspires confidence in the forecasts of the actual future. The reader will naturally say "I have found the prophet right so far up to my own time, I can therefore trust him to disclose what still lies in the future." But if this method is to be adopted, it can only be by antedating the composition of the prophecy. Hence it is attributed to some seer of the older time such as Daniel or Enoch or Baruch or the patriarchs. This pseudonymous character of apocalyptic may be further explained by the extinction which had overtaken prophecy through the dominance of the Law, so that if a man wished to gain acceptance for prophecies of his own, he would put them forward not in his own name but under some ancient name. The question would naturally occur, Why if these famous men of old uttered these prophecies do we hear of them only now? The explanation given is that while the oracle had been uttered centuries before, it had been sealed by Divine command, in other words it had been withheld from publication. Thus Daniel is told to "shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end."

In connexion with what has been said about reinterpretation, I may call attention to the elaborate symbolism in apocalyptic. Partly this is traditional in character, some of it is derived from oriental mythology, some from earlier prophecy. We have for example in Daniel the four beasts, the fourth of which had ten horns, among which there came up a little horn. These represent empires, the little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes. The kings of Media and Persia are later represented by a ram, while a he-goat stands for Greece. This kind of imagery is familiar to us also in the Book of Revelation. Sometimes the symbolism is interpreted, sometimes it is not interpreted. But even when it has been interpreted in one apocalypse it may be reinterpreted in another. For example in II Esdras we have a vision of an eagle, and the seer receives an interpretation which is thus introduced: "The eagle, whom thou sawest come up from the sea, is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. But it was not expounded unto him as I now expound it unto thee or have expounded it." This symbolism might also serve to safeguard the meaning from discovery in cases where it might be unsafe to speak plainly. Two points may be added here. It is not necessary to suppose that a writer always used his symbols with a clear understanding of what was intended. He may have used them as part of the sacred material which had come

down to him in the apocalyptic tradition, but to which, though he faithfully transmitted it, he may have assigned no definite signification.

The conviction that the course of history was pre-determined and had to be worked out according to a programme with fixed dates, meant that nothing could be done by men or angels to hasten or retard the process. Punctually at the time appointed each event would happen. God Himself would not depart from the scheme which in His wisdom He had, even in its details, foreordained. Yet the seer, though he cannot put forward or back the clock of destiny, may still give an answer to the question "Watchman, what of the night?" He can devote himself to the study of history and match it with the revealed plan of its movement, calculate the position of his own time in the programme, and determine how much remains to be endured, and how long it will be before with catastrophic suddenness the old order is replaced by the new. Moreover he is possessed in his measure by a conviction similar to that which we find in the ancient prophets. Amos had said "Surely the Lord Yahweh will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets." The very fact that a true prophet had appeared was an omen, which men ought to heed, that God was going to intervene in history in some signal way. And so the apocalyptist publishes his message because he is certain that the end is very near. Now this certainty, it may be said, grew out of his study. Through elaborate calculations he reached the conclusion that he was living in the very last times. But all who are familiar with the history of modern interpretation of prophecy on apocalyptic lines are well aware that nothing is more common than to find the interpreter quite in good faith fixing the critical events in his own immediate future. It is a human frailty to believe that the times in which we live are specially important in the world's history. And if we are preoccupied with millenarian speculations we easily find reasons for believing that the end is very near. It is this conviction which, whether consciously or unconsciously, largely guides the quest for identification of events in history with predictions in prophecy and apocalypse. But what specially convinces the apocalyptist that history is rushing to its crisis is the acuteness of the present distress. Times of persecution in particular, when the people of God are outlawed and hunted down, tortured and massacred, are fruitful in apocalyptic. What makes the seer so sure that history has

only a very little course to run is the fact that the pressure has become so acute. For the powers of evil who instigate the fiery trial, from which the people of God are suffering, know well that the hour of doom is approaching and work with all the more ferocious energy that the period of their activity draws so near to its close. This is brought out in the comment on the result of the war between Michael and the dragon in the Book of Revelation. To heaven's joy, the defeated dragon is cast out ; but the passage continues : " Woe for the earth and for the sea : because the devil is gone down unto you, having great wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time." Therefore the immediate prospect for the saints is appalling, since the dragon, smarting under defeat and maddened by the knowledge that his night is coming when he will be able to work no longer, pours all his concentrated fury on the people of God. Hence a season of unprecedented persecution is to burst upon the Church ; but the very intensity of the devil's malevolent energy is in itself a ground of consolation. For it means that the appointed time of redemption is very near, therefore let the saints lift up their heads. It is to be observed that no matter how awful the persecution may be, God does not intervene before the predestined time has come. The author does not suggest that for the elect's sake God may shorten the days.

The same conviction of a fixed scheme, from which no departure will be made, may be illustrated by what seems the strange forecast that when the thousand years of the devil's imprisonment are ended, " he must be loosed for a little time." The reason why this should be inscribed on the tablets of destiny is not certain. There are parallels to it in ethnic religions and from these it may be derived. But ultimately it may rest on the principle that the last things are to be like the first, and if at creation God triumphed over the dragon of darkness and chaos, so with the creation of new heavens and a new earth there is to be a final victory over the powers of evil.

I have already spoken of the supernatural forces which the apocalyptist believed to be at work behind the veil. In earlier Jewish theology responsibility for the evils from which Israel suffered was laid at the door of the angels. According to Deut. xxxii. 8 (LXX) Yahweh assigned the nations to angelic rulers reserving Israel for Himself. We read in the Psalms (lviii., lxxxii.) and in the apocalyptic section of Isaiah, belonging probably to the time of Alexander the

Great (xxiv. 21 f.), of the unrighteous rule of the angels and the punishment to be inflicted on them. This belief finds a fuller development in Daniel. We read of the angel princes of Persia or Greece; but now Israel has its own angel. Behind the heathen empires and their kings there are their angelic rulers who have incited their earthly instruments to hostility against Israel. In the later period this angelology is much more developed; and it is not improbable that in this Persian influence is to be recognised. In the development of the angelology, especially the doctrine of evil angels, the story of the marriages of the angels with women in Gen. vi. 1-4 plays a prominent part. Another interesting development is the angel who frequently in apocalyptic communicates or interprets the revelation. But this goes back to Ezekiel and in particular to Zechariah.

To us apocalyptic is likely to seem a decadent form of prophecy. Its preoccupation with the future, its dualism, its pessimistic interpretation of the present, its bizarre symbolism, its rigid predestinarianism and theory of a fixed programme to which history must conform, its bitterness towards the heathen, its lapses into mythology, its forced and fluctuating exegesis, its publication under pseudonyms, are all hindrances to our appreciation. But, if strange to our own time, the apocalypses appealed to the men of their own age. They represent a very important development in the history of Judaism. An understanding of them is necessary if we are to reconstruct the religious conditions in which Christianity was born. Important Christian doctrines owe much in their form and even content to this literature. Nor can we withhold our tribute to the amazing courage of their authors' faith. With a hostile world all about them, a world polytheistic and idolatrous, with the civil forces, military, political, social and intellectual, massed against them, with sinister supernatural powers, as they believed, marshalling these forces against them, their faith rose to unprecedented heights. Appearances were all against them, the hard realities seemed fatal to a belief in the righteousness of the world's government or the final triumph of their cause. But even when strength and endurance seemed to be strained to the uttermost, they nerved themselves still to bear their tortures, confident that the end was very near and that soon in one radiant moment the kingdoms of this world would become the kingdom of their God and His Messiah.

# MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE — RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

BY H. C. HOSKIER.

## II.

**I**N our last we dealt with Apoc. 200. Now we have to deal with No. 201, a very different MS., with a commentary by an unknown author.

The scholia are attributed to Origen by Diobouniotis and Harnack, who published an edition in 1911.

This publication is not only faulty and inaccurate, but the pride of the scholar has caused Harnack to print his suppositious emendations in the text of the work and the real readings of the MS. are relegated to the footnotes, an inverted and pernicious manner of editing a document, so far unique, to which the present writer seriously objects.

Apart from itacisms and some spelling in the text of the Apoc. proper, which Harnack has changed, I would call attention to the following errors :—

- i. 1. τω δουλω αυτου is omitted before ιωαννη but is present in the MS.
- ii. 1. Read των αγγελων for τω αγγελω  
4 *init.* and 14, 20. Read αλλα instead of αλλ'  
8. MS. has ἐδ<sup>N</sup>μυρνη *sic.*  
10. MS. has λαβειν not βαλειν  
21. Read αὐτήν for αὐτῇ  
22. Read βάλω not βαλῶ  
25. Read ἀχρι ου αν not αχρισ ου αν
- iii. 1/2. MS. has νεκρὸς ἐγγήνου not νεκρὸς εἰ . γίνου  
2. Read ἡμελλον not ἔμελλον  
7. MS. has (of course) δαδ and not Δαύιδ as printed. (So also in v. 5.)  
9. Omit εγω before ηγαπησα  
12. Add μου after θεου *prim.*  
*Ibid.* Read επαυτον *sic.*, not ἐπὶ αὐτὸν  
14. Read εκκλησιαις for εκκλησιας  
*Ibid.* Read ὁ πιστὸς ὁ ἀληθινός not ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός

- iv. 3/4. Harnack prints in his text “ὁμοίως ὄρασις σμαραγδινῶν καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου” but this clause appears only in the margin, and correctly thus: *ομοιως ως ορασεις σμαραγδηνῶ θρονον κυκλωθεν του θρονου*
7. Dele *το* before *προσωπον*
8. Read ἔχοντα for ἔχον
- Ibid.* Read *αγιος* *ter* not *semel*
- Ibid.* Supply *ο θεος* after *κυριος*
10. Read εἴκοσι τέσσαρες for εἴκοσιν τέσσαρες. (εἴκοσι also v. 8.)
- v. 1. Read ἐμμέσω for ἐν μέσῳ
2. Read *και ιδον αγγελον, αγγελον ισχυρον* for *αγγελον semel*.
8. For “προσευχαι οντων [ωντων]” read *προσευχαιαν των αγιων*
11. For εἶδον read ἴδων
13. For αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἤκουσα read *αὐτοῖς · παντας ἤκουσα*
- Ibid.* For τοῦ θρονοῦ read *τῷ θρονῷ* ·
- vi. 4. Dele *και* before *ἵνα*
7. Dele *φωνην*
9. For “τὸν λόγον [την λόγην]” read *τῶν λόγων*
11. Add *και* before *οι μελλοντες*
12. For μέλας ἐγένετο read *ἐγένετο μέλας* ·
16. For ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου read *ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*
- vii. 1 and 9. For εἶδον read ἴδων
- Ibid.* Add *ὁ* before *ἄνεμος*
4. For *ταράντα τέσσαρες* read *σαράντα = τέσσαρες*
- 5/8. For δώδεκα read *ιβ passim*.
6. For *μανασσῇ* read *μανασῇ*
7. For Ἰσάχαρ read *ισαχαρ*
8. For ἐσφραγισμένοι read *εσφ*—— *sic*, termination indeterminate
9. Add *πολυς* after *οχλος*
- Ibid.* For *φοινικας* read *φυνικας*
- 10 and 15. For ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου read *ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*
17. For ὁδηγήσει read *ὁδηγῇ*
- Ibid.* For “ἐξαλείψει [-ληψει]” read *ἐξαλείψη*
- viii. 3. Instead of ἦλθεν codex has *ἐξήλθεν sic*
6. „ „ ἐαυτούς „ „ αὐτους
7. „ „ κατεκαη [-καει] „ „ κατ’εκαει
11. Codex lacks *μερος* which is printed in the text
- ix. 2. Instead of “ἡνοιξεν [ηνιξεν]” codex has *ηνυξεν*
4. „ „ “ἐπὶ τῶν μετωπων [-όπων]” codex has *επι τω μετοπω*
6. „ „ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὁ θάνατος codex has *ὁ θανατος απ αυτων*
8. „ „ τρίχας γυναικῶν codex has *τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν*

11. Instead of βασιλέα ἐπ' αὐτῶν codex has ἐπ αὐτων βασιλεα  
 17. For εἶδον read ἴδον  
*Ibid.* For ἐπὶ αὐτῶν read ἐπ αὐτων  
*Ibid.* For ὑακινθινους read υακινθυνους  
 20. For χρύσια read χρυσεα  
*Ibid.* Supply τα before αργυρεα  
 x. 1. For ἴδον *init.* read ιδων  
*Ibid.* For “ ἡ ἱρις [ἱρεις] ” read ἡ ῥεις *sic*  
 7. For τοὺς δούλους ἑαυτοῦ read τους εαυτου δουλους  
 8. For βιβλαριδιον read βρβλαριδιον *sic*  
 11. Supply ἐπι before εθνεσι  
 xi. 17. For εἰληφας read ηλιφας  
 18. Between τῶν νεκρῶν and κριθῆναι codex has *ita*  
 xii. 3. For πυρρὸς μέγας read μέγας πυρρὸς  
 5. For ῥάβδω read ῥάϋδω  
 10. Dele ἡ before βασιλεία  
 xiii. 1. For βλασφημίας read βλασφημείας  
 2. For ὡς στόμα codex has ὥστόμα  
 3. For ὡς read ὡσεὶ  
 4. Between τίς ὅμοιος and τῷ θηρίῳ supply σοι *vid.*  
 5. Dele ἐξουσία  
 6. For βλασφημίαν read βλασφημείαν  
*Ibid.* For “ σκηνὴν [-ενην] ” read σκινὴν  
 7. For πόλεμον ποιῆσαι read ποιῆσαι πόλεμον  
 10. For ἀποκτέννει read ἀποκτένει  
 11. For ἐλάλει read ἐλάλη  
 15. For πνεῦμα δοῦναι read δοῦναι πνεῦμα  
*Ibid.* For ποιήσῃ read ποιήσει  
*Ibid.* For εἰάν read ἂν  
*Ibid.* For προσκυνήσωσιν read προσκυνησουσιν

All this is in addition to the notes at foot which claim to reproduce the actual MS. readings where different from the text as printed.

We will now give some particulars of the readings of Apoc. 201, which, according to Harnack, is bound up with the previous MS. Both MSS. are of 1000 A.D. or earlier. This one is written partially by the Scribe of 200 and partially by another, but has a commentary. The inscription is ἀποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου and we have no subscription, as the MS. is mutilated and the text ends at xiv. 5.

It has considerable affinity with the small group 14-92 and with the extraordinary MS. 130. Thus, at vi. 11, while substituting *αναπαυσασθαι* for *ινα αναπαυσωνται* with 130 (*αναπαυσασθε*), we have a new and very likely reading of *μικρον* (*tantum*) *without* *ετι χρονον*, thus: “*και εδωθη αυτοις στολη λευκη και ερρεθη αυτοις αναπαυσασθαι μικρον, εως πληρωσωσιν και οι συνδουλοι αυτων και οι αδελφοι αυτων και οι μελλοντες αποκτενεσθαι ως και αυτοι.*”

There is always something new to be learned in every MS. examined, as only by the *whole witness* of our documents can we hope to recover long lost original phrases.

Thus—for better or for worse—this MS. at last pretends to solve the great difficulty at xii. 7. The impossible *πολεμησαι μετα* disappears, and *μετα* (*minus* *επολεμησαν* or *πολεμησαι*) becomes intelligible, the whole hanging together thus: “*Και εγενετο πολεμος εν τω ουρανω. Ο Μιχαηλ και οι αγγελοι αυτου μετα του δρακοντος, και ο δρακων επολεμησε και οι αγγελοι αυτου, και ουκ ισχυσεν* (rather than *ισχυσαν*) . . .

Hitherto we have had to read *επολεμησαν κατα* (or *μετα*), or *πολεμησαι* (some “*του πολεμησαι*”) *μετα*.

Notice also the strange *εχει*, for *εστιν prim.* in xiii. 18: “*ωδε η σοφια εχει.*”

Amongst the new readings, besides the three above-mentioned, are to be noted these:—

- i. 6. + *ημων post θεω*
- ii. 10. *λαβειν pro βαλειν*
- iii. 1. *fin. - ει*
- 18. *φανει pro φανερωθη*
- v. 1. + *και εμμεσω post δεξιαν*
- 8. *προσευχαιων (sine acc.) pro αι προσευχαι*
- vi. 9. *δια των λογων pro δια του λογου*
- 17. - *οτι*
- ix. 7. *ομοιωμα pro ομοια*
- Ibid.* + *ομοιωμα ante ως στεφανοι*
- Ibid.* + *χρυσοι post στεφανοι*
- 18. + *και post ανθρωπων*
- 20. *τα ἀργυραια sic sine acc.* (Cf. *χρυσαια*)
- xi. 6. + *και ante κλεισαι*

- xii. 14. + *ινα ante* οπου τρεφεται  
 16. *ενεβαλεν pro* εβαλεν  
 17. *εν pro* επι (= *gigas*)  
 xiii. 4. + *σοι post* ομοιος (Cf. + *τουτω copt syr S Iren Prim*)  
 5. *πολεμησαι pro* εξουσια ποιησαι

Intimacy with 14-92 is shown below :—

- |          |                                                           |                                                           |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| iv. 5.   | <i>και pro</i> αι εισι                                    | So 14-92 (130)                                            |
| viii. 3. | <i>εξηλθεν pro</i> ηλθεν                                  | So 14-92 and 130                                          |
| ix. 13.  | <i>μιαν</i> φωνην                                         | So 14-92                                                  |
|          | 17. <i>ιππικους pro</i> ιππους                            | So 14-92 and B.                                           |
| xi. 5.   | <i>εκπορευσεται</i>                                       | So 14-92                                                  |
|          | 13. <i>εν φοβω pro</i> εμφοβοι                            | So 14-92 and $\aleph$ 44-52-82 <i>syr S</i>               |
| xiii. 2. | <i>λεοντων</i>                                            | So 14-92 and $\aleph$ <i>syr</i> $\Sigma$ <i>Victorin</i> |
|          | 15. <i>αποκτανθηναι (pro</i><br><i>ινα αποκτανθωσι)</i> } | So 14-92                                                  |

Among other peculiarities we may notice :—

- |                     |                                                                           |                                                              |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. 7.               | <i>οφονται pro</i> οψεται                                                 | with $\aleph$ 1, 12, 81, 114, <i>fam</i> 119 <i>syr copt</i> |
| ii. 17.             | — <i>απο</i>                                                              | „ 19, 130                                                    |
| iii. 12.            | <i>ονικων ποιησω αυτω</i><br><i>(pro αυτου) στυλον</i> }                  | „ $\aleph^*$ 47, 61, 92 [ <i>non</i> 14], 100*, 130          |
| iv. 3/4.            | — <i>ομοιος ορασει σμαραγδινω και</i><br><i>κυκλοθεν του θρονου txt</i> } | with $\aleph^*$ <i>solo</i>                                  |
| iv. 8.              | <i>εχοντα pro</i> ειχον                                                   | „ P 23, 38, 50, 56                                           |
|                     | 9. <i>δωσωσιν</i>                                                         | „ $\aleph$ 67, 81, 92                                        |
|                     | 9/10. + <i>αμην post</i> αιωνων                                           | „ $\aleph$ 32, 95*, 121 <i>syr S</i>                         |
| v. 13.              | <i>οσα εστιν pro</i> α εστι                                               | „ <i>fam</i> 34                                              |
| vii. 1 <i>init.</i> | — <i>και</i>                                                              | „ CA 127, 130, <i>latt, sah</i>                              |
| <i>Ibid.</i>        | + <i>ο ante</i> ανεμος                                                    | „ C <i>aliq. et</i> 200                                      |
|                     | 3. <i>και pro</i> μητε <i>prim.</i>                                       | „ A 38-178, 106                                              |
|                     | 6. — <i>εκ φυλης ασηρ ιβ χιλ . εσφραγ</i>                                 | „ 35-87, 91                                                  |
|                     | 8. <i>βενιαμειν</i>                                                       | „ AP <i>al perpauc.</i>                                      |
|                     | 17. <i>οδηγη pro</i> οδηγησει                                             | „ 39, 109                                                    |
| viii. 5.            | <i>βρονται και φωναι και αστραπαι</i><br><i>και σεισμοι</i> }             | „ 46, 57, 62-3, 69, 72, 80                                   |
| 9 <i>fin.</i>       | <i>διεφθάρει</i>                                                          | „ 7, 45, 81*                                                 |
|                     | 11. <i>ωσ'άψινθον pro</i> εις <i>άψινθον</i>                              | „ (F 200) <i>h Prim.</i>                                     |
| <i>Ibid.</i>        | <i>πολλυ sic pro</i> πολλοι                                               | „ (69)                                                       |
| x. 7.               | <i>ευηγγελισατο</i>                                                       | „ <i>aliq. et</i> 130                                        |
|                     | 9. <i>απηλθα</i>                                                          | „ A <i>aliq. et</i> 200                                      |
| <i>Ibid.</i>        | <i>καρδιαν pro</i> κοιλιαν                                                | „ A 63, 178                                                  |

|              |                                            |                                           |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 10.          | κατεφαγα                                   | with 35, 59, 67                           |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | καρδια * <i>pro</i> κοιλια                 | „ 59                                      |
| xi. 6.       | εχουσι την <i>pro</i> εχουσιν <i>prim.</i> | „ CAP 127                                 |
| 11.          | εν αυτοις <i>pro</i> επ αυτους             | „ A <i>al.</i> 200                        |
| 18.          | – τον <i>ante</i> μισθον                   | „ 200. This would appear to be deliberate |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | τους μικρους και τους μεγαλους             | „ NCA 200                                 |
| xii. 18.     | εσταθη                                     | „ NCA <i>pauc.</i>                        |
| xiii. 4.     | οτι <i>pro</i> ος                          | „ NCAP <i>al. et</i> 200                  |
| 18.          | – και <i>ante</i> ο αριθμος                | „ (Cf. 109)                               |

## THE COMMENTARY.

The scholia in this MS.—not those of Andreas, Arethas, or Oecumenius—have already been printed by Harnack. They are printed separately apart from the text, and the edition is full of errors. I would much prefer not to give a list of these, but feel bound to mention the more important ones, since it is a *new* document and cannot be referred to properly as long as the text is ambiguous.

Thus in the very first scholion beginning “οὐ μαχεται τῷ λεχθέντι ὑπο τοῦ σρσ προσ τοὺς γνωρίμους. οὐκέτι καλῶ ὑμᾶς δουλους ἀλλα φίλους . . . . .”

a subsequent clause is printed as : “ὄντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς τυγχάνουσι δοῦλοι, ἄξιον καὶ μέγιστον ἡγούμενοι θεὸν δεσπότην ἔχειν,” but the codex has plainly “αξιομα μέγιστον” and not “ἄξιον καὶ μέγιστον.”

It continues “ἐν γου (*sic*) ταισ ἐπιστολαῖς αἷς γράφουσιν ὥς ἄλλοι τὰ θνητῶν ἀξιώματα προτατγουσιν <sup>1</sup> (*sic*) τοῦτο αὐτο.”

Again in Scholion 3 please read (fifth line) μακαριοποιεῖ and not μακαρίζεται. This is perfectly plain. (The footnote suggests μακαριουσιεῖ).

In Scholion 5 Harnack has insisted on printing : ἀλλ’ ὡς πάντα ἐν ἐνθεν καὶ ἄλλως πάντα ἐν · κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς, but the codex reads : αλλωσ παντα ἐν ἐνθεν και παν κυκλος γὰρ ο αυτοσ · which Diobouniotis gave him.

Line four delete τὸ before  $\bar{\alpha}$  and before  $\bar{\omega}$ .

In Scholion 6 delete (line five) τῷ before θεῷ, the footnote is incorrect.

Line 16 for “μαχαίρα, γλώσσας δὲ σοφίαν ἰῶντας” read μαχαῖρας γλωσσαι δὲ σοφίαν ἰωνται.

<sup>1</sup> Double τ is practically always written τγ, not reproduced in the edition.

|                |          |                                                                      |
|----------------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Scholion vii.  | Line 10. | Read νεκρὸς for νεκρὸν                                               |
| p. 24.         | Line 2.  | Delete μὲν                                                           |
| Scholion viii. | Line 1.  | Read ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆν and not ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆν                   |
| Scholion ix.   | Line 8.  | Delete καὶ before κακείθεν                                           |
| Scholion x.    | Line 3.  | Read μαχόμενα for μαχόμενον text and not μαχόμενο as in the footnote |
|                | Line 4.  | Read ἀποβαλὼν for ἀποβαλεῖν                                          |
|                | Line 5.  | Read ἀφήκασου for ἀφήκας σου                                         |
|                | Line 6.  | Read γέγονει for ἐγγέγονει                                           |
| Scholion xi.   | Line 3.  | Footnote should read ἀπολεσθείς                                      |
|                | Line 4.  | Read πειραθήσεται                                                    |
| p. 26.         | Line 2.  | Add τὸν φθειροντα after θεου                                         |
|                | Line 5.  | Codex = γνοῦσας πάσας                                                |
|                | Line 6.  | Add καὶ before ταρατγόμενος sic                                      |
|                | Line 7.  | Add την before ταραχήν                                               |
| Scholion xiii. | Line 2.  | Read ἀπαταιῶνας                                                      |
| Scholion xiv.  | Line 7.  | For λευκῇ read λευκῇ                                                 |
|                | Line 11. | Delete δε                                                            |
|                | Line 12. | Read τουτον for τοῦτο                                                |
|                | Line 13. | Footnote should be ἐπὶ τοῦ κρουπτου not κρούστου                     |
|                | Line 15. | Read κατὰ ἀλληλωσ                                                    |

But it would be wearisome to continue. I will only add from the remaining 25 scholia a few of the worst errors.

|                  |                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Scholion xx.     | Line 11.         | Supply ζωῇ after παρούση                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Scholion xxi.    | p. 30 Line 2.    | Delete τοῦ before προσώπου                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Scholion xxii.   | Line 9.          | Delete ὁ before ἀληθινός                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                  | Line 18.         | Add εἶναι before ἐν ἑαυτῷ                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Scholion xxvi.   | Line 7.          | Delete και before τα κτισματα                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Scholion xxvii.  | Line 23.         | Read ουχι not οὐχ                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Scholion xxviii. | Line 2.          | Delete τῆς before φυλῆς                                                                                                                                                                         |
| p. 34.           | Line 1.          | For τὴν ἀνάστασιν read ἀναστασιν γὰρ                                                                                                                                                            |
|                  | Line 3.          | Read καίνον for καινήν                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Scholion xxix.   | Line 21.         | Delete [ὅτι]                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| p. 35.           | Line 1 and note. | Text is correct προσάγεται but the footnote is futile for the codex is plainly προσαγεται, written πρ(ο (fin lin) αγεται and never προαγεται. He was evidently not familiar with πρ(ο for προσ. |

- Scholion xxx. Line 2. Codex has *ὑπηρετητικαι*  
Line 3. *καὶ αἱ ἐπελαστικαι* *sic* is correct. No question of “*vult* D.”  
Line 4. Add *την* before *γην*  
Line 5. *οὐ το* in footnote *οὕτω* but codex *οὕτως*  
Line 7. Add *τουτου* before *δεομένοις*  
Line 8. Never *ποθήσωσι*. Codex plainly *ποθησουσιν*  
Line 10. Last word *οργη* not *οργήν*  
Line 11. Footnote should be *ἐπεισσε* not *ἐπειοσε*  
Line 14. Read *παρὰντον* for *παρὰ αὐτὸν*  
Line 16. Read *αμαρτιασ* for *ἀμαρτίαν*  
Line 19. Read *κολασει* for *κολάση*  
p. 36. Line 3. Footnote corrects text *τῇ* to *την* but leaves *προσηγορία*. Codex has *την γαρ ἐπεισεισε, προσηγορειαν*  
Line 5. Codex *ἐπὶ τῇ* (not *τῆς*) *τοῦ διαβόλου*  
Line 11. Codex *αὐτοῦς*. Not “*fortasse*” as footnote  
Line 12. Read *ἂν οὖν* for *οὖν ἂν*  
Line 13. Read *ἐκ τῆς πρωτησ* for *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ*  
Line 17. Read *εχωμεν* for *ἔχομεν*  
Line 26. Footnote “*fortasse νοήσομεν.*” Codex *νοήσωμεν*  
Line 30. Read *παραστήσας* *compendio* not *παραστήσει* or *παραστης*  
p. 37. Line 2. Read *εαυτῶν* for *αὐτῶν* and *ἀποδεικνυντων*  
Line 3. Read *αὐτοῦς αἰτίους* for *αἰτίους*  
Line 4. Read *παραλελοιπόντων* for *παραλειπόντων*  
Line 5. Read *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θῦ* for *κατὰ τὸν θεοῦ*  
Scholion xxxi. Line 4. Add *φέρεται* after *ἐτέραις*  
Line 5. Read *εφουσ* for *ἐφ’οῖς*  
Line 6. Read *κολαζόμενοι* not *καλαζόμενοι*  
Line 8. Read *μετόπου*  
Line 11/12. Read *εδωκας* for *δέδωκας*  
Line 13. Read *τόξου* for *τόξον*  
Line 13. Read *σαρκα* for *σπέρμα*  
Line 14. Printed text *περιόντων*, footnote *περιόντες*, but codex has *περιόντος*  
Line 17. Read *ἀκολουθεῖαν*  
Line 18/19. Read *διηρείσθαι* not *διαιρείσθαι*  
Line 19. Codex has *τούτου οὖν τοῦ ἱῆλ*. Text and footnote not clear

- Line 19. Text λέγοντες. Footnote says “λέγωμεν *corr.* D.” but λέγωμεν is the true reading of codex.
- Line 22. Text πολλήν, footnote πολλή, but codex has *fin lin* πολλη̃.
- Scholion xxxii. Line 3. Read παρθενείας for παρθενίας [παρθένους is already corrected in footnote]
- Line 4. Read εὕρισκωμεν
- Scholion xxxiv. Line 2. δύναται text is correct. Footnote δυνατη is incorrect. Harnack has again misread the ligature *fin lin* “δύνατς”
- Scholion xxxv. Line 1. ὁ θεὸς of the text is correct. Codex = ὁ θσ̄. Footnote “θου” is a gross error thinking the σ is ς
- Line 3. Text ὅσοι, footnote ὅσου, but codex οσῶ or ισῶ
- Line 7. Add μὲν after δαιμόνια
- Line 8. Codex reads πνᾶ (πνεῦμα *errore*) for πνευματα
- Line 10. Read λαλήσουσιν for λαληλουσι
- Line 11. Delete τοῖς before ψαλμοῖς
- Scholion xxxvi. p. 40 Line 1. First word σου is correct. Footnote τοῦ is wrong
- Line 14. Read βουλητε for βουλή
- Line 16. Supply ἑπτὰ before βροντῶν (Codex as indicated in footnote has ἐρόντων but Harnack forgot the preceding ἑπτὰ)
- Line 16. Supply οἶμαι before τὸν κόσμον
- Line 18. Delete τῶν before λαλουσῶν
- Scholion xxxvii. Line 3. Read ἕκαστος not ἕκαστον
- Line 7. Supply τὸν between οὖν and μισθὸν
- p. 41. Line 2. Supply δηλοῦνται after φοβούμενοι
- Line 5. Footnote should have τοῦ before προφήτου as the true reading of codex
- Line 7. Supply γὰρ before ἅγιοι
- Scholion xxxviii. Line 4. Footnote queries an omission of ὥς. Codex has it
- Line 9/10. Read ἵνα γινῶ · μὴ τὴν not καὶ γνώμη τὴν
- p. 42. Line 1. Read ψεύδη
- Line 14 and note. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ should be τοῦτο δέ ἐστι
- Line 16. Text “ἐν δε [add ἐξ].” See footnote. Codex is without it
- p. 43. Line 5. Add τὴν before πρὸς θεὸν

Line 7 and note. Codex (difficult to read in photo), appears to be

λεπτοτυνθέντες

Line 11. Read εἴη for εἶμι

Line 15. Read ἀνθρωπον not ἀνθρώπου

Line 16 *fin.* Add τοῦ θεοῦ after ὑποταγὴν

Line 18. Between ἐκκλησίας and λαμβανομένης a word is missing. να is found in the MS. beginning a line before λαμβανομένης but the commencement after ἐκκλησίας, end of previous line, is illegible

Line 19. Read οὐδ' ουμη for οὐδὲ μὴ

p. 44. Nothing which is not indicated

Scholion xxxix.

„ „ „

Be it understood that the above are all *in addition to* the manuscript readings given in the footnotes. Not a very creditable showing for the editors.

As it would be quite outside my province to go into the matter of authorship of the Commentary, I must refer readers to Harnack's publication, in which he takes up many important points, such as the references to the Epistle to the Hebrews in seven separate scholia, where the author of the epistle is referred to as "the apostle" (= Paul) in the same breath as the author of the Apocalypse is called "ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης."

His general conclusions are for authorship preceding the fourth century, and almost a certainty that Origen is responsible; and valuable references are made not only to Origen's general style and trend of thought, but to unusual words in his vocabulary which find a counterpart here. The last two scholia 38 and 39 are from Irenaeus.

I will give an example of a scholion, and copy No. xx occurring after Apoc. iii. 11, where reference is made to Cleopas (not naming the "other" disciple) and the journey to Emmaus. The great unsolved question, however, of *what* scriptures the Lord referred to in the Old Testament concerning Himself, remains open.

I neglect Harnack's punctuation and errors, and give the text of the MS.:

Ἀγίος ἀληθινὸς · ὁ μὴ μετουσία ἀλλὰ οὐσία ὢν  
 τοιοῦτος · αὐτοσ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἔχων τὴν κλῖδα τοῦ  
 δαδ · ὁπνίκα σὰρξ γὰρ γέγονεν ὁ λογος · ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ

κλίδι ἀνοίγει τὰς γραφὰς προ τῆς ἐπιδημίασσοῦσας (*sic*)  
 κεκλεισμένας· ἅς κλεῖσαι οὐδεὶς δύναται φάσκον  
 αὐτὰς μὴ πεπληρῶσθαι. οὕτως ἤνοιξεν αὐτὰς τοῖς  
 ἀμφι κλεόπαν σὺν βαδίζων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἠνέωξεν πληρῶσας αὐτὰς διεκβάσεως. ἐκκλισεν  
 τὴν τοῦ νόμου σκιὰν. ἔξω τῆς ἰλῆμ ποιήσας τοὺς  
 ἰουδαίους· διὸ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει τὰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα  
 τοῦ νόμου οὐκέτι φυ· ὑφεξείς (*sic*) τὰ λοιπὰ λαχθῆναι  
 χῶραν ἔχοντα ἀνοίγει μὲν τὰ δυνατὰ ἀνοῖς νοῆσαι  
 κλείου δὲ ὅσα μὴ δύναται ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ζωῇ  
 γινῶναι.

Neither the text of this MS. [unlike No. 200] nor the commentary know anything beyond the conventional “μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μου” clause in iii. 16. The com. occurs in the middle of iii. 14 and runs as follows (I copy the MS., not Harnack’s emendations): Notice the paucity of accents. It is undoubtedly a direct copy from an old uncial :—

ο πιστος καὶ Ἀληθινὸς ὁ σωτηρ (*sic pleno*) ὑπαρχει· οὐ δια το  
 πιστεωσ καὶ ἀληθείας μετέχειν· ἀλλὰ δια το βέβαιος  
 καὶ ουσία (*sic*) εἶναι· ἄληθινὸς γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαυτοῦ το  
 ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀληθινὸς (*sic*) εἶναι· ὅτι δὲ το πιστὸς· ἀντι  
 βεβαίου καὶ ἀτρέπτου κεῖται φησιν ὁ ἀποστολὸς· ἡ  
 ἀπιστοῦμεν αὐτοσ πιστος μενῇ· ἀρνησασθαι γὰρ  
 ἑαυτὸν οὐδύναται καὶ μωσῆς θεὸς πιστὸς καὶ οὐκεστὶν  
 ἀδικία εἴστυτο λειψεὶ καὶ το γραφόμενον τιμοθέω.  
 πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· ἀντι τοῦ μένων αἰ. καὶ οὐ διαπίπτων  
 εἴρηται δὲ ὁ μαρτυρὸς ο πιστὸς καὶ ἄληθινὸς προσ  
 παράστασιν βεβαιότητος· ὡσαυτοσ ἐστὶν το ἀμην·  
 ἀρχὴν δὲ τῆς κτίσεως εἶπεν αὐτὸν· οὐχὼς κτισμα  
 πρῶτον κτίσεως ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς· ἀλλωσ ἐτία (*sic*)  
 τοῦ ὑπαρχειν αὐτὴν οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀρχὴ γὰρ  
 ποιημάτων ὁ ποιητὴς· τουτέστιν τῆς κτίσεως ὁ  
 κτίστης ἐστὶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀρχων· το [here two letters (*illeg.*)  
 scratched out and cancelled] αὐτο δεστικ λέγειν μελλωσε  
 ἐμεσε. καὶ το ἐγεννηθητέ μοι ἐστὶ πλησμονὴν· οἶονε Γὰρ  
 ἐπιπολεξεται (*sic*) ἐν ἐμοὶ· ὅταν γὰρ τὴν περί τινος μνημὴν  
 ἀποκάλει ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ· τὸν τοιούτον ἡμεσεν γενομένου  
 αὐτῷ εἰς πλησμονὴν· καὶ δια τὴν ἀποτησκακίαν (*sic*)  
 παχύτητα μὴ χωρουντα εἶναι (*sic, om.* Harnack) ἐν ἐαυτῷ.

These two specimens must suffice as examples of the scholia. Readers are referred for the remainder to Harnack's publication, for they are all of considerable interest when contrasted with the corresponding remarks of Andreas, Oecumenius and Arethas.

APOC. 202 = Meteora 237.

[xi]

This the third early cursive of the Apoc. at Meteora, can be dismissed in a few words, as it is a member of the well-known Complutensian group, consisting of

|       |                                          |       |      |        |          |      |                           |                |       |           |           |         |
|-------|------------------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------|------|---------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-----------|---------|
|       | Cambridge                                | Paris | Rome | Moscow | Florence | Rome | Parham, from<br>Caracalla | Crypto-Ferrata | Athos | Jerusalem | Jerusalem | Meteora |
| Apoc. | 10—17—37—49—77—91—96—110—160—187—190—202 |       |      |        |          |      |                           |                |       |           |           |         |

The inscription is : ἀποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου θεολογου.

There is no subscription.

A short chain commentary is found here and there throughout, apparently extracts from Andreas.

Collated in 1921 from photographs made in 1912.

Of the stereotyped Compl. family it retains such things of the textus receptus as *μονους* (ix. 4), and the clause at viii. 12 verbatim with the t.r., even *φαίνη* and not *φανη*.

It is very correctly copied with but the most trifling slips, and virtually no unique readings.

Opposite *κλινην* in ii. 22 is the marginal note *κλίνην ἀσθένης*.

At ix. 4 we find *χόντον* for *χορτον* (against the family traditions), with 25 and 78.

At ix. 5 we have <sup>πληξή</sup>παίσ<sub>Η</sub> the superimposed *πληξή* by the Commentary hand. *πληξή* is the reading of most of the Compl. MSS.

But at xii. 4 we have *τίκτειν* for *τεκεῖν* (see the photograph in the previous issue of the BULLETIN) which is also read by E 59, 120, 130, and *Hipp* as well as *Compl*.

In xv. 6 the reading *ουρανου* for *ναου* is supported by 56 as well as by this *Compl.* group.

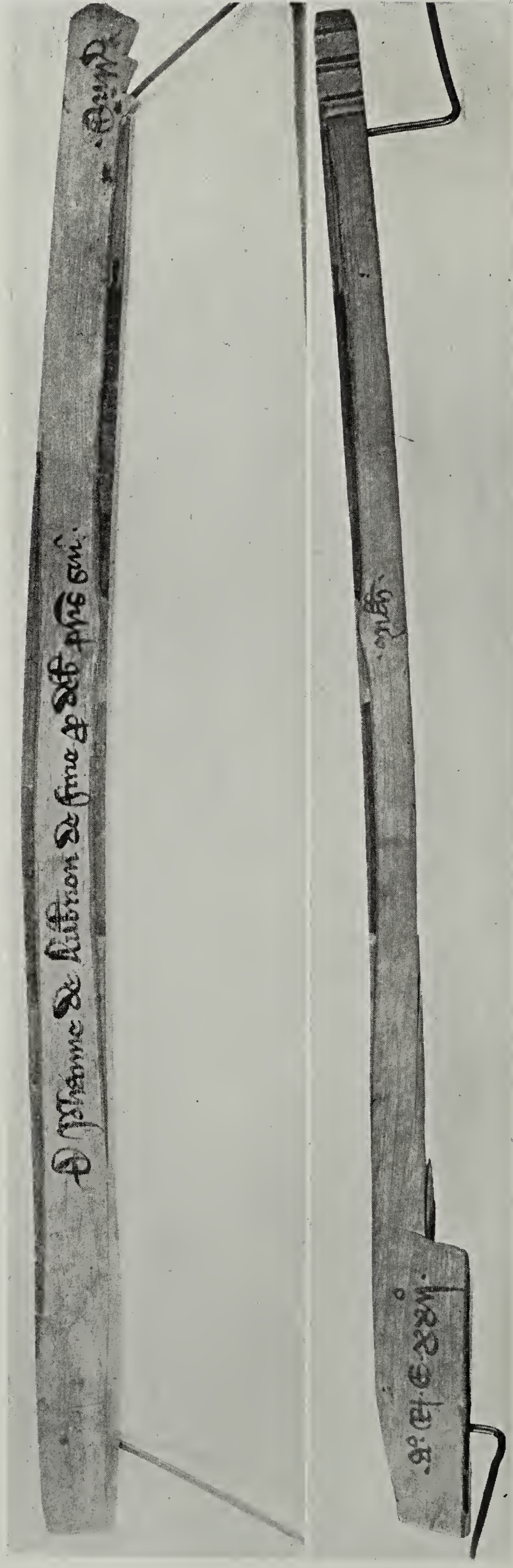
Note at xvii. 5 our MS. reads *πόρνων* (for *πορνῶν*) by a few, and 77-96 of the *Compl.* family.

At xviii. 22-23 there is confusion and it is not true to type.

Our next article will deal with the Spanish MS. 143 and we can promise that it will be of much greater interest than the foregoing.

H. C. HOSKIER.





AN EXCHEQUER TALLY OF THE YEAR 1293, GIVEN TO JOHN D'ABERNON OF THE COUNTY OF SURREY

## AN EARLY EXCHEQUER TALLY.

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PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO.

THE accompanying illustration is of an exchequer tally of the year 1293 given to John d'Abernon of the county of Surrey as a receipt for a fine or composition made by him for a debt owed by his father to the crown. It belongs to Dr. Alfred A. Mumford of Manchester, who has lent it for exhibition to the John Rylands Library.

The tally issued to John d'Abernon was a receipt given to him by the lower exchequer. The Michaelmas receipt roll of 22 Edward I. records the fact that on the Saturday next after Michaelmas, October 3, 1293, John d'Abernon paid £2 10s. as a fine for his father's debt.<sup>1</sup> At the time when this entry was made a stick of wood, already made to measure, was notched on the lower edge with two cuts to represent the two pounds, and one cut to represent the ten shillings. The longer inscription on the tally was copied from the receipt roll and reads : *De Johanne de Aubernon' de fine pro debitis patris sui. Surr'*. The other words were added for the purpose of further identification and give the year and term of the exchequer : *Anno Regis Edwardi XXII<sup>o</sup>. Mich'*. Having been thus inscribed the piece of wood was split lengthwise to a point where the handle began. John was given the longer piece, the stock or tally of the photograph, as a receipt for the money he had paid. The shorter foil or counter tally was preserved by the lower exchequer for future reference. If by mistake John was thereafter charged with the same debt he could present the tally as evidence in his favour. By means of the inscriptions it could be identified through the entry on the receipt roll, its foil could be recovered and he would be quit of the charge.

Tallies were issued by the exchequer of the later Middle Ages for money actually or symbolically paid to the government at the lower

<sup>1</sup> Receipt Roll, No. 127, m. I.

exchequer, the *recepta* or receipt. The "receipt" was the department of the exchequer that received and paid out money. Its principal series of records were the receipt rolls which recorded incoming revenue and the issue rolls which noted disbursements. The upper exchequer or exchequer of account was, as its name indicates, the accounting department before which the tax collectors and others appeared to settle with the government. When any collector of revenue handed in money or evidence of having properly spent money at the lower exchequer he received a tally. This was the earliest use of that instrument and it never lost its essential character of a receipt despite the other uses later made of it. During the fourteenth century the tally was incorporated into the system of anticipatory drafts upon the collectors of revenue. When the crown desired to draw upon such a collector in favour of some one to whom it owed money, or who had been directed to spend money, a writ was sent to the collector ordering him to pay the creditor so many pounds. A tally was thereupon made at the "receipt" crediting the collector with having delivered at the exchequer the sum indicated in the writ and this tally was given to the creditor. Upon the presentation of this tally to the collector he would pay the money. Since the tally was a receipt for money delivered at the lower exchequer by the collector he could present it later at the upper exchequer and receive due credit for it on his account. Thus used the tally was like a modern cheque, the bank or treasury being the money in the hands of the revenue collector, upon which the exchequer could draw at will.

The case of John d'Abernon's tally is the simplest that can be imagined, for he paid in cash and received a receipt; but in many another instance tallies were issued when not money but evidence of having spent money for some proper purpose was presented at the lower exchequer.<sup>1</sup> The difference is purely technical yet it may be worth while to explain the latter system. A sheriff or tax collector might have money in hand upon which it might be found necessary or

<sup>1</sup> Examples of orders or proffers of the type noted in this paragraph may be found in the following: L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 77 (34-35 Edward I.) m. 22, London, writ of privy seal; K. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 75 (29-30 Edward I.) m. 70, Wiltes, letters patent of receipt; L.T.R. Memoranda Rolls, No. 90 (13 Edward II.) m. 146, Bedford, bill of the wardrobe. For types of the various writs, *Surrey Taxation Returns*, Appendix I., Section 3.



BRASSES ON THE TOMBSTONES OF SIR JOHN D'ABERNON AND HIS SON IN STOKE  
D'ABERNON CHURCH, SURREY

(From "Surrey Archæological Collections," Vol. I. (1857), p. 234)



convenient to draw for expenditures in his neighbourhood or elsewhere. Under these circumstances the king by writ of privy seal might order the collector to pay the expenses incurred by a purveyor of victuals for the army and in return for this money the purveyor would hand him a written receipt. Writs might also be sent him ordering him to pay the Bardi part of the large sums owed to them by the crown ; in return for what he delivered to them, he would receive letters patent of receipt. A duly accredited wardrobe official might approach him for cash to meet necessary expenses and give him in return a bill of the wardrobe, or part of an indenture of receipt. In all these instances when the collector reached Westminster he would go to the "receipt," have his acquittances validated if it were possible, and for those thus validated would receive tallies from the "receipt" which he could proffer at the exchequer of account.

Only rarely did accountants appear before the upper exchequer with anything except tallies. Now and then, however, a tax collector who was either ignorant of the system or in too much of a hurry to observe the proper forms reached that body with cash.<sup>1</sup> In such cases he had to go to the lower exchequer, receive his tally and return with it. If his indentures, bills of the wardrobe, or other acquittances required special validation he would take them with him to the upper exchequer. After they were validated a tally was issued by the "receipt."<sup>2</sup> Occasionally it happened either that the memoranda by which allowances or acquittances could be checked were in another place or that the treasurer was absent and so could not pass on them.<sup>3</sup> A still more unusual case is that of the taxers and collectors of the twentieth of 1327 in the city of Lincoln. They came before the exchequer of account for their audit presenting *inter alia* letters patent of the keeper of the wardrobe testifying that they had paid him £20. Because the chamberlain did not have the writ of *liberate* upon the basis of which it could charge the wardrobe with that sum no tally could be made.<sup>4</sup> In all such cases since no tally could be issued to the collectors, they, through

<sup>1</sup> L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 85 (8 Edward II.) m. 237, Wilts, Somerset.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Ibid.*, No. 87 (10 Edward II.) m. 178, Salop.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 90 (13 Edward II.) m. 146, Bedford, treasurer absent ; K.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 76 (30-31 Edward I.) m. 79, Northampton, memoranda in London, whereas exchequer at York.

<sup>4</sup> L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 101 (3 Edward III.) m. 117 d.

no fault of their own, would have to wait until the necessary validation could be completed before their accounting could be brought to a close.

The use of tallies in the system of drawing upon the tax collector was, I conjecture, an innovation of the first decade of the fourteenth century. No indisputable examples of such a procedure before that time have been found by the present writer and the rare use of it in the case of taxes upon movables until well into the reign of Edward II. would seem to stamp it as a new method of which the convenience had not been fully realized. The system of anticipatory drafts, already described, was old, how old it is impossible to state,<sup>1</sup> but the use of the tally in connection with it was new. Since the assignments by means of writ plus a tally gained a prominent place in the financial system of the fourteenth century the method will be described in detail.

During the reign of Edward I. when the crown wished to draw upon the collectors of taxes it normally used the methods already referred to.<sup>2</sup> A writ was sent to them ordering them to pay a certain person a part or the whole of the money they had in hand. When the payee appeared they were to receive from him in return for the money his letters patent testifying to its receipt for which it was stated allowance would be granted at the exchequer. Early in the fourteenth century a new phase appeared in these orders to pay. The tax collectors were to receive letters patent of receipt for which a tally of the exchequer would be struck when they reached the exchequer and allowed them at their accounting. Then an administrative genius devised the plan of sending out a tally with the payee, as a substitute for the old plan which forced the collector to wait for it until he reached the "receipt" with his writ and acquittances. Nothing could be simpler, and forthwith a new clause appeared in the writs which tended in time to supersede all others. The tax collectors were directed to pay the person named a sum of money. In return they were to receive from him a tally of the exchequer in their names bearing a

<sup>1</sup> Hilary Jenkinson in an article on William Cade in the *English Historical Review*, XXVIII., 216-217, would date the system as early as the reign of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> The several types of writs ordering collectors to pay are to be found in full in *Surrey Taxation Returns*, Appendix I., Section 3. I use the drafts upon tax collectors for the reason that my studies have been largely confined to the field of medieval taxation.

statement of the amount they were to pay. For this tally, allowance would be granted them at the exchequer when they came to account.

The procedure in the case of such drafts upon the tax collector or others, was as follows: The king sent to the exchequer a writ of *liberate*, writ of privy seal or other mandate, ordering it to pay to one of his creditors a stated sum. Thereupon the exchequer divided up the sum if it was large and ordered, under its own seal or that of the treasurer, various collectors to pay the creditor specified parts of it. They were to receive from him a tally of the exchequer in their names on which was inscribed the sum to be paid. On or about the date that the writ was issued an entry was made upon the receipt roll to the effect that there had been received from the collectors the sum noted in the writ. A tally was then made in the form of a receipt and delivered to the creditor. It was inscribed with the words found in the entry upon the receipt roll, with the addition of notes indicating its date,<sup>1</sup> and was a witness that the collectors had paid the money at the exchequer. At the same time it was recorded in the issue roll that the creditor had been paid so much by a tally upon the collectors.<sup>2</sup> When the collectors had received the writ commanding them to pay, which might be delivered by the creditor, and the creditor appeared with the tally, they paid him, received the tally, and the transaction was closed.

In the course of time the collectors would have to appear before the exchequer to account for their receipts and disbursements. They would have with them the order to pay and the tally showing that they had paid as ordered. After the tally had been validated at the "receipt" they could proceed to the exchequer of account and there proffer it as evidence that they had gathered the money and properly delivered it at the lower exchequer. They would then receive allowance for this sum.

<sup>1</sup> The receipt roll for Michaelmas, 19 Edward I., contains a note to the effect that the treasurer and barons had commanded that the date be written upon all tallies made at the "receipt." Receipt Roll, No. 116, m. 5. See also the article by Hilary Jenkinson in *Archæologia*, LXII., 375.

<sup>2</sup> The phraseology of the issue roll of 1328, Easter, in the case of William de Broklesby is as follows: *In una tallia facta isto die Ade de Hoperton et Nicholas de Langeton taxatoribus et collectoribus XXme Regi concessa in civitate Ebor' continente XL li de eadem XXa et dicto Willelmo liberata in persolucionem brevis sui.* This entry may be found under the date 7 May.

The new plan of drawing upon the collectors of taxes by means of writ and tally, greatly simplified the system of accounting at the lower exchequer. Under the older plan of assignment the exchequer officials could check the drafts upon revenue collected, but not paid in, by a search of the memoranda and files of writs. The exchequer clerks would naturally search the records with greater skill than a modern investigator, but even at best the task must have been onerous. The new plan made their work lighter through the entries upon the receipt and issue rolls. On them, under the same date, were the names of those upon whom the drafts had been drawn, the names of those to whom they had been issued and the warranty for their issue. The exchequer of account, after the new system was well established, could and did check up the amount of these drafts upon the tax collectors by means of the rolls of the lower exchequer, particularly the receipt rolls.<sup>1</sup> The saving of time during the exchequer year must have been considerable. The simplicity of the new system of assignment also led to an increase in the number of such drafts upon the collectors of revenue. The investigations of the present writer have been largely confined to the subject of taxes upon personal property and it has been found that in connection with them there was a rather steady progress from large cash payments at the exchequer to an assignment basis during the reigns of the three Edwards. Many of the drafts were of the older type during the days of Edward II. and the early years of Edward III., but the new type became relatively of greater importance.

The trouble that might arise in connection with the new system when it was not fully understood is brought out by a case rising in 1328. On 20 March, 1328, letters close were sent to the collectors of the twentieth of movables in the West Riding of Yorkshire and other districts ordering them to pay Richard de la Pole, the king's butler, various sums of money.<sup>2</sup> On 30 April the treasurer and chamberlains, officers of the "receipt," were ordered to cause tallies to be made and delivered to Richard since "the collectors have deferred paying him the above sums because he did not bring to them tallies of

<sup>1</sup> An excellent example is that of the review of the tallies of the taxers and collectors of the twenty-fifth of 1309 in Norfolk. L. T. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 80 (3 Edward II.) *adhuc visus comp' Trinit'*.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1327-1330, 269.

the receipt of the exchequer for the money.”<sup>1</sup> The issue roll, under date of 16 May, records the fact that eight tallies had been issued as a result of the writ of 30 April,<sup>2</sup> and on the same day various sums were credited to the collectors in Derby, Essex and the Ridings of Yorkshire on the receipt roll.<sup>3</sup> When the collectors came to their accounting they brought with them the tallies of 16 May and were given credit for them.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the collectors knew the new system, whereas Richard or some exchequer official was careless or not fully cognizant of it. A presumption of acquaintance with the writ and tally system is found in orders to pay sent to the taxers and collectors of a sixteenth in Hereford and elsewhere, 25 February, 1317.<sup>5</sup> The writs were of the older type requiring an acquittance, later to be exchanged for a tally, in return for money delivered. It was felt to be necessary to add a clause to the writ commanding the collectors to put no obstacle in the way of payment notwithstanding no tallies were sent to them.

A serious weakness of the assignment system was that at its basis lay the uncertain knowledge of the exchequer with respect to the amount of money the collectors had in hand. In addition to the uncertainty as to the amount that had been gathered, it frequently did not know, and could not know, to what extent the money had been drawn on by writ of privy seal or other royal mandate. So the collectors might not be able to honour the exchequer writs ordering them to pay. Overdrafts were not only possible, but highly probable under these circumstances. That there were relatively few of such overdrafts is an excellent testimony to the conscientiousness of the exchequer.

It might happen, however, in certain instances that the exchequer knew full well that the collector did not have the money and that by issuing a draft upon him it was passing on the task of getting the money from him to some one else. An obvious example of this procedure is the issuing of tallies upon money due from taxers and collectors who had not been able to pay their remainders of account at their audits.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1327-1330, 277.

<sup>2</sup> Issue Roll, Easter, 2 Edward III. The old number was 231.

<sup>3</sup> Receipt Roll, Easter, 2 Edward III. The old number was 255.

<sup>4</sup> See the record of the appearance of the taxers and collectors in Derby. L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 100 (2 Edward III.) m. 26.

<sup>5</sup> L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 87 (10 Edward II.) m. 142.

When the taxers and collectors of the twentieth of 1327 in Hereford reached the audit stage of their accounting, they were unable to pay £13 5s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Of this sum all but the three farthings was assigned to those perennial creditors of the king, the merchants of the society of the Bardi, and a tally was levied in their favour.<sup>1</sup> Drafts were also issued at times by the exchequer before the collection of a tax had been started. This is illustrated by the action of the exchequer in relation to the fifteenth and tenth of 1357. The commissions to the collectors were issued on 1 August.<sup>2</sup> Before that date the receipt rolls record the issuance of tallies of the assignment type to the amount of nearly one-sixth of the total possible income from the subsidy.<sup>3</sup> Under the date of 29 July, six tallies were issued against the collectors in Sussex in favour of W. de Dalton for a total of £1049 1s. 6d. whereas the total charge against the men of the county was £1104 7s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.<sup>4</sup> In this instance almost the whole subsidy was hypothecated before the writs were issued. There are many examples of the same sort of procedure, though the cases are not so extreme, in relation to the same subsidy. The holders of such tallies would have to wait until the subsidy had been collected in order to get their money. There is a case in 1297, under the old system, of an attempt to avoid this, when the taxers and collectors of the ninth in Shropshire were told to borrow money in order to meet the assignment if it happened that they did not have enough on hand.<sup>5</sup>

Though most of the instances of overdrawing would seem to be due to ignorance in the exchequer of the situation in the local districts, there remained in any case the necessity, after the writ and tally system had been established, of noting on the exchequer account books such drafts as were not honoured. It is clear, for example, that the entries on the receipt rolls crediting the collectors with payments into the exchequer would have to be cancelled in some fashion if the collectors had not made such payments. During the

<sup>1</sup> L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 101 (3 Edward III.) m. 116 d.

<sup>2</sup> Fine Roll, No. 158 (31 Edward III.) m. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Receipt Roll, Easter, 31 Edward III. The entries relating to the fifteenth and tenth began 13 July, 1357. Compare the entries on the issue roll of the same term.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, and L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts, No. 14, m. 48 d.

<sup>5</sup> L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, No. 69 (25-26 Edward I.) m. 29 d.

years 1357-1359 there were several methods of dealing with this book-keeping problem.<sup>1</sup>

The most obvious method was at the same time the most inconvenient.<sup>2</sup> The entry on the receipt roll was cancelled and the tally and foil destroyed. This, however, complicated the accounts for the items on the receipt roll were totalled each week and term and these totals would have to be changed to meet the correction.

The usual plan avoided this difficulty by means of fictitious loans. The entry on the receipt roll was cancelled, the tally and its foil destroyed, and another entry made on the receipt roll in which the full amount of the dishonoured draft was credited to the payee as a loan to the crown. In February, 1358, to take a concrete instance, assignment was made to John de Copeland of £81 upon the collectors of the tenth in the city of York. They could not pay him. The entry on the receipt roll was cancelled, evidently when John came to the lower exchequer and reported the situation, and a new entry was made on the receipt roll, below the cancelled entry, to the effect that John had loaned the government £81. By this method the weekly and term totals on the receipt rolls were preserved and no medieval official would mistake this type of *mutuum* for anything but an unpaid debt.<sup>3</sup>

If it happened that the collectors could pay a part but not the whole of the sum drawn upon them a similar method was used. The tally and its foil were destroyed, but the original entry was not cancelled. In place of the original tally two were issued, one for the amount that it was found possible to collect, this being charged against the men named in the original tally, the other for the residue, this being credited to the payee as a loan to the crown. On 29 July, 1357, a number of tallies were drawn upon the collectors of the fifteenth and tenth in Sussex in favour of William de Dalton. One of these was for £133 8s. 10½d. This they could not pay. William therefore restored his

<sup>1</sup> These years were selected because of the unique character of the allowances made towards the alleviation of the burden of the subsidy of 1357.

<sup>2</sup> For references to the cases exhibited in this and the following paragraphs and for illustrations from the receipt rolls, see the note added to Hilary Jenkinson's note in *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, 2 S., XXV., 35-37.

<sup>3</sup> It is unfortunate that S. B. Terry in his work *The Financing of the Hundred Years' War* does not distinguish between the book-keeping loan and the real loan.

tally and two new ones were made, one for £115 12s. 7½d., the amount the collectors could pay, and another crediting William with a loan of £17 16s. 3d. The original entry on the receipt roll crediting the collectors with £133 8s. 10½d. was allowed to stand, but below it a note was added that William de Dalton had made a loan of £17 16s. 3d. for which he was satisfied later. On referring to the original entry and the note the officials would know how much to credit to the collectors and what remained to be paid to John. The weekly and term totals were undisturbed by this arrangement.

Tallies were used as official receipts by the exchequer until October, 1826.<sup>1</sup> A little later their destruction was ordered by statute.<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of this order the clerk of the works directed his men to burn them. This was in October, 1834. Unfortunately the burning was done "in the furnaces or stoves, connected with the flues which passed beneath the flooring, and gave warmth to the House of Lords."<sup>3</sup> Through the carelessness of the workmen the woodwork caught fire and the old houses of parliament were destroyed, and with them the humble cause of the disaster, the tallies, medieval and modern. In consequence of the fire only a few tallies remain in the Public Record Office to show us what they were like and still fewer in private hands, such as the tally of John d'Abernon.

<sup>1</sup> H. Jenkinson, *Archæologia*, LXII., 368-369.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 369.

<sup>3</sup> There is a description of the burning of the tallies and the Parliament Houses in Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster*, 408-415.

# HAND-LIST OF THE MAINWARING MANUSCRIPTS.

BY ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ÈS LETTRES.

## 2. ROLLS.

- No. 1. Rentale de Overpeover anno Domini M<sup>mo</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> XXV<sup>to</sup>—  
Rentale de Badyley anno supradicto.
- No. 2. Memorandum de summa recepta videlicet de duabus partibus reddituum omnium terrarum et tenementorum in manibus feoffatorum Willelmi de Bromley existentis . . . (1432).
- No. 3. Recepcio reddituum omnium terrarum et tenementorum Johannis Maynwaryng, militis, in Overpeover, Wythynghon, et Knotteford. (1459-1460.)
- No. 4. Proceedings of the Halimote Court at Peover. (1423-1500.)
- No. 5. A rental of Peover, Lostock, Plumley and other places in Cheshire. (1520-1521.)
- No. 6. Placita apud Cestriam in Comitatu Cestriæ coram Johanne Throkmorton, Armigero, Justiciario dominæ Reginæ apud Cestriam ad sessionem ibidem tentam. (Aug. 10, 1562.)
- No. 7. Placita pro sessione Cestriæ tenta apud Cestriam . . . coram Simone Thelouw, Armigero, deputato Johannis Throkmorton, militis, justiciarii dictæ dominæ Reginæ Cestriæ. (Oct. 1, 1576.)
- No. 8. A rentall for the right worshippfull Edmund Trafforde of Trafford, Esquire, for . . . Wilmslowe. (1592.)
- No. 9. A rentall of the land . . . in Namptwiche, [of] John Monster-son, gentleman, decessed, and purchased of Margaret Stanley, widowe, doughter and heirece of the said John, and of Thomas Stanley, Esquire, her sonne. (1598.)
- No. 10. The whole myse within the townshipp of Over Peover sett down by the right worshippful Sir Rondle Mainwaringe, knighte, by and with the consent of all the inhabitants within the said townshipp the 16th day of ffebruarie 1613 for a direction howe all the said inhabitants shall pay to all taxes and layes both to the King's majestie, the church and others. . . .
- No. 11. An extract of all and singuler fynes and amercementes presented at the Court Leete and Court Baron of Phillip Mainwaringe, Esquire, for his manor of Over Peover holden before Michael Tarleton, his steward. (July 9, 1633.)
- No. 12. The same for Nov. 26, 1633.
- No. 13. Proceedings of Courts and view of Frankpledge of Henry Mainwaring, Esq., for Barnshaw and Goostrey. (1634-1635.)

- No. 14. The same for 1638-1639.
- No. 15. Extract of Hundred Court of Nantwich Hundred for the collection of a subsidy granted by the Parliament to the King. (Oct. 18, 1641.)
- No. 16. Proceedings of the courts of Henry Mainwaring for Barnshaw. (Oct. 24, 1616.)
- No. 17. Extract of Hundred Court for Nantwich Hundred for collection of a subsidy granted to the King. (Feb. 29, 1664.)

### 3. LETTERS.

#### A. MOUNTED LETTERS.

- No. 1. Arthur Mainwaring to Philip Oldfeld, Esq., at Croxton in Cheshire. Dec. 9, 1603.
- No. 2-3. The arraignment of Mrs. Turner, widowe, the 9th of November 1615.
- No. 4. 26 Oct. 1634. Cipher for Mr. Secretary Mainwaring.
- No. 5. 2 Oct., 1635. Cipher for Mr. Secretary Mainwaring.
- No. 6. 2 Oct., 1635. Cipher for Mr. Steward Smith.
- No. 7. 2 Oct., 1635. Cipher for Mr. Secretary Mainwaring.
- No. 8-9. 2 Oct., 1635. Cipher for Sir Thomas Reynell.
- No. 10. Commission by King Charles I. to Roger Whitley for a troop of Horse in the regiment of Colonel Charles Gerard. Oxford, Nov. 1, 1642.
- No. 11. "Instructions [of King Charles I.] unto our Commissioners for the levying and impresting of souldiers in our county of Glamorgan for the recruiting of our Army." Oxford, Feb. 3, 1645.
- No. 12. Order of King Charles I. to Colonel Roger Whitley, governor of Aberystwith Castle to reduce the disaffected in County Cardigan. Denbigh. Sept. 28, 1645.
- No. 13. Pass from King Charles I. to Colonel Roger Whitley to travel to France and any other foreign countries. Newcastle, Jan. 4, 1647.
- No. 14. Recommendation of King Charles I. to all foreign princes for the same. Newcastle, Jan. 4, 1647.
- No. 15. The payes of the officers and soldiers in Cromwell's army and guards. (1654-1655.)
- No. 16. A list of the names of such Barronetts as have not leavied tallies at the receipt of Exchequer for the discharge of their Barronett money. Feb. 19, 1686.
- No. 17. To the King's most excellent majestie, the humble petition of Robert Whitley, Esq. (n.d.)
- No. 18-19. Peter Shakerley Esquire, letter to Sir Thomas Mainwaring concerning a set form of prayer. (Feb. 19, 1680.)
- No. 20. Sir Thomas Mainwaring's answer [copy.] March 2, 1680.
- No. 21-23. Peter Shakerley's reply. March 24, 1680.
- No. 24. Coronation Ticket. Westminster Abbey, Sept. 22, 1761.

## B. ORIGINAL LETTERS (not mounted).

- No. 1. Order by the president and council of Munster for the livery to Sir Randle Mainwaring of certain castles and lands in Ireland. June 28, 1604.
- No. 2. Warrant to Sir Randle Mainwaring, Sheriff of Limerick, respecting the possession of Browry (Co. Limerick). July 3, 1605.
- No. 3. George Mainwaring to his father Sir Randle. Feb. 7, 1627.
- No. 4. Warrant from the Lords Southampton and Ashley to Roger Whitley as receiver of the royal aid in North Wales. June 17, 1665.
- No. 5. Warrant from the same to the same as "officer for collecting . . . revenue duty arising from fire hearths and stones in the counties of Anglesey, Flint and Denbigh." Apr. 24, 1666.
- No. 6. King Charles II. to Justices of the Assises at Flint. July 3, 1668.
- No. 7. The commissioners of the Treasury to the Commissioners for the Assessment in the county of Flint. Nov. 28, 1668.
- No. 8. Richard Bagot to Colonel Roger Whitley. Aug 16, 1670.
- No. 9. Mr. Vaughan of Cathley to Mr. Hugh Morris. Oct. 7, 1671.
- No. 10. Mrs. Bodurda to Mr. Hugh Morris. March 16, 1672.
- No. 11-13. Mr. J. Trevor, Secretary of State, to Colonel Roger Whitley. April 18-27, 1672.
- No. 14. Colonel R. Whitley to Lord Derby. Ap. 29, 1672.
- No. 15. R. Mostyn to Colonel R. Whitley. Ap. 30, 1672.
- No. 16. Lord Worcester to the same. Ap. 30, 1672. (Two items.)
- No. 17. Alderman Street to Lord Derby. May 2, 1672.
- No. 18. Lord Derby to Colonel R. Whitley. May 3, 1672.
- No. 19. Mr. Trevor to the same. May 7, 1672.
- No. 20-21. Samuel Pepys and the Navy Board to the same. May 16-20, 1672.
- No. 22. William Bankes to the same. May 30, 1672.
- No. 23. Samuel Pepys and the Navy Board to the same. May 30, 1672.
- No. 24-25. Joseph Williamson to the same. Cologne, June 7, 1673. Dec. 19, 1673.
- No. 26. Mrs. Bodurda to Robert Brereton and Robert Lloyd. Dec. 16, 1673.
- No. 27-36. Joseph Williamson to Colonel R. Whitley. Cologne, Feb. 9-April 14, 1674.
- No. 37-40. Mrs. Bodurda to Mr. Ralph Whitley. June 8, 1674-Feb. 17, 1675.
- No. 41. Mr. Corbett and Mr. John Mamey to Mr. Ralph Whitley. Feb. 6, 1675.
- No. 42. Mrs. Bodurda to the same. July 21, 1675.
- No. 43. Mr. Lutwyche to the same. Sept. 23, 1676.
- No. 44. Mr. Corbett to the same. Oct. 3, 1676.
- No. 45. Mr. Robert Evans to the same. Oct. 20, 1676.
- No. 46. Mr. Thomas Hossam to the same. Feb. 8, 1677.

- No. 47. Mr. Bevis Lloyd to the same. May 5, 1677.
- No. 48. Mrs. Bodurda to the same. Oct. 8, 1677.
- No. 49. Mr. Thomas Hossam to the same. Nov. 6, 1677.
- No. 50. Mr. R. Mostyn to the same. Jan. 23, 1678.
- No. 51. Mr. Edmund Anwyl to the same. Feb. 4, 1678.
- No. 52. Mr. Ewan Jones to the same. March 23, 1678.
- No. 53. Mr. R. Mostyn to the same. May 27, 1678.
- No. 54-55. Mr. John Wynne to the same. 30 May-June 4, 1678.
- No. 56. Mr. John Anwyl to Mr. Roger Brereton. Oct. 18, 1678.
- No. 57. Mr. Edward Williams to Mr. Ralph Whitley. Nov. 5, 1678.
- No. 58. Mr. Foulke Owen to the same. Feb. 14, 1679.
- No. 59-60. Mr. Ewan Jones to the same. April 8-25, 1679.
- No. 61. Dr. Maurier to the same. Aug. 25, 1679.
- No. 62. The agents of the Revenue to Captain Peter Whitley (copy).  
Oct. 13, 1679.
- No. 63. Letter of discharge of Mr. John Owen to the same. Oct. 16,  
1680.
- No. 64. Mrs. Lettice Whitley to Mr. Thomas Whitley. Dec. 24,  
1680.
- No. 65. Mrs. Bodurda to the same (?) Aug. 12, 1681.
- No. 66. Mr. John Warrin . . . to Mr. Whitley. Oct. 9, 1681.
- No. 67-69. Mrs. Lettice Whitley to Mr. Thomas Whitley. Ap.  
8-11, 1684.
- No. 70. Mr. John Jones to the same. n.d.
- No. 71. Mr. Thomas Batten to Mr. John Hussey. Dec. 15, 1686.
- No. 72. Mr. Peter Shakerley to Colonel Whitley. June 5, 1689.
- No. 73-74. Mr. Thomas Whitley to the same. Feb. 19-March 28,  
1691.
- No. 75. Mr. Ro. Whitley to the same. May 12, 1691.
- No. 76. Mr. Thomas Whitley to the same. May 24, 1691.
- No. 77. Mr. Geoffrey Gibbon to Mr. Whitley. Dec. 9, 1692.
- No. 78. Mr. Ro. Whitley to Colonel Whitley. March 12, 1693.
- No. 79-80. Mr. William Minshull to the same. Nov. 10, 1693.
- No. 81-82. Sir John Mainwaring to the same. Nov. 23-28, 1693.
- No. 82-85. Mr. William Minshull to the same. Nov. 28-Dec. 23,  
1693.
- No. 86. Mr. William Williams to the same. Dec. 28, 1693.
- No. 87. Mr. William Minshull to the same. Dec. 28, 1693.
- No. 88. Receipt by Mr. Evan Lloyd. Jan. 5, 1694.
- No. 89-91. Mr. William Minshull to Colonel Whitley. Jan. 20-27,  
1694.
- No. 92. Sir John Mainwaring to the same. Feb. 3, 1694.
- No. 93. Mr. William Minshull to the same. Feb. 3, 1694.
- No. 94. The same and Sir J. Mainwaring to the same. Feb. 16, 1694.
- No. 95. Sir John Mainwaring to Lady Mainwaring. Feb. 13, 1694.
- No. 96. Mr. William Minshull to Colonel Whitley. Feb. 15, 1694.
- No. 97. Mr. George Mainwaring to the same. March 8, 1694.
- No. 98. Mrs. Grace Jackson to the same. March 16, 1694.

- No. 99. Mr. William Minshull to Colonel Whitley. Ap. 29, 1694.
- No. 100. Copy of a letter intended to be sent to the King's Recorder of Chester. May 7, 1694.
- No. 101. Mrs. Grace Jackson to Lady Mainwaring. May 17, 1694.
- No. 102-103. Mr. William Minshull to Colonel Whitley. May 17-22, 1694.
- No. 104-105. Mr. William Williams to the same. May 22-28, 1694.
- No. 106. Mr. William Minshull to the same. June 4, 1694.
- No. 107. Mr. William Williams to the same. June 12, 1694.
- No. 108. Mr. William Minshull to the same. June 23, 1694.
- No. 109. Mr. William Williams to the same. June 23, 1694.
- No. 110. Mr. John Williams to the same. June 26, 1694.
- No. 111. Colonel Whitley to Mr. George Clarke, Secretary of War. Sept. 3, 1694.
- No. 112. Mr. Secretary Clarke's answer. Sept. 6, 1694.
- No. 113. Mr. Hugh Speke to Colonel Whitley. Sept. 10, 1694.
- No. 114. Colonel Whitley to Mr. Secretary Clarke. Sept. 29, 1694.  
(Copy.)
- No. 115. Mr. Secretary Clarke's Answer. Oct. 19, 1694.
- No. 116. Mr. J. Shirley to the Lady Elizabeth Mainwaring. Oct. 30, 1694.
- No. 117-119. Mr. William Minshull to Colonel Whitley. Nov. 1-17, 1694.
- No. 120. Mr. John Housman to the same. Nov. 21, 1694.
- No. 121. Mr. William Minshull to the same. Nov. 24, 1694.
- No. 122-123. Mr. J. Shirley to the Lady Elizabeth Mainwaring. Dec. 1-20, 1694.
- No. 124. Mary Griffith to the same. June 29, 1695.
- No. 125. Mr. Ro. Whitley to Colonel Whitley. Oct. 2, 1698.
- No. 126. Mr. J. Shirley to the Lady Elizabeth Mainwaring. Oct. 30, 1698.
- No. 127-128. Mr. John Bromhall to Colonel Whitley. March 25-30, 1698.
- No. 129. Lucy Whitley to Mr. Thomas Whitley. Aug. 13, 1699.
- No. 130. Jane Randolph to Lady Mainwaring. Friday night?
- No. 131-133. The same to Colonel Whitley. Sunday?
- No. 134-137. Jane Whitley to the same. May 14-Thursdays, May 28. February 8.
- No. 138-139. Lady Elizabeth Mainwaring to the same. Nov. 23-Nov. 8.
- No. 140. Major Hugh Pennant to the same. Nov. 23.
- No. 141. Mr. William Minshull to the same. n.d.
- No. 142. Mr. Ralph Barret to ? n.d.
- No. 143-144. Mr. R. Angell to Lady Mainwaring. Oct. 15, 19, 1703.
- No. 145. Thomas Mainwaring to the same. June 13, 1710.
- No. 146-150. H[enry] M[ainwaring] to his sister Mrs. Mainwaring. June 15, 17, July 1, 11, 1710, Feb. 10, 1711.
- No. 151. Lady Elizabeth Mainwaring to ? her kinsman. July 5, 1711.

- No. 152. G. Wettenhall to Mrs. Wettenhall. Dec. 10, 1720.  
 No. 153. Mary Wettenhall to the same, her mother. March 3, 1722.  
 No. 154-162. Mr. Thomas Wettenhall to the same, his mother. July 7, 1736-Feb. 5, 1741.  
 No. 163. Major Hugh Pennant to Colonel Whitley. Nov. 2.  
 No. 164. The Rev. Richard Hunt to Mr. William Dugdale. n.d.  
 No. 165. Mr. John Jones to ? n.d.  
 No. 166. A blank order of the Treasury for collecting revenue. n.d.

#### 4. MANUSCRIPTS BOOKS.

- No. 11. Collections of subsidy for Prince Arthur, for the Hundreds of Eddisbury, Broxton, Wirral, Northwich, Bucklow, Nantwich, Macclesfield and the Forest of Macclesfield, for the term of Martinmas, 1502.  
 No. 12. Liber Pacis, Anno Domini 1590. Regno Elizabethe 32<sup>o</sup>. 7 Aprilis.  
 No. 13. The arraignment of the Earls of Essex and Southampton at Westminster. Feb. 29. Thursday. 1600.  
 No. 15. The opinions of the Judges of Assises upon divers questions concerning parishes, etc., and Justice Jones, his opinion touchinge the commissions by which they sitt at Newgat. 1633.  
 No. 18. Collection of speeches in Parliament in 1640.  
 No. 20. Diary of Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Bart. Vol. I. 1648-1674. Vol. II. 1674-1688.  
 No. 21-23. Historical note book. (Dated 1655. No. 23 adds *Calais*.)  
 No. 24. Note book containing lists of Royalist officers in England and Wales. (On cover: *Bruges*, 1658.)  
 No. 25. Royal aids for Wales. 1664-1670.  
 No. 26. The present state of Europe breefly examined and found languishing; for cure wherof a remedie from former examples is humbly proposed, by Mr. T. M. 1670.  
 No. 28. Answer to Sir Peter Leycester. 1670-1680.  
 No. 29. Parliamentary journal. Feb. 15, 1676-April 16, 1677.  
 No. 30. The legitimacy of Amicia . . . by Sir Thomas Mainwaring.  
 No. 31. Colonel Whitley's diary. Ap. 11, 1684-July 25, 1697.  
 No. 32. Colonel Whitley's note-book when Harbinger of King Charles II.  
 No. 33. Charles Broster's accompt. July 8-Nov. 11, 1695.  
 No. 34. George Smith's accompt. May 18-Dec. 8, 1696.  
 No. 35. Common place book. *temp.* Charles II.  
 No. 36-39. Common place books. (xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
 No. 40. Book of logic.  
 No. 41. Rental of the Peover Estate. 1743-1747.  
 No. 42. Trees planted. 1749-1768—cattle lost by the contagious distemper.  
 No. 44. Idée du Roi de Prusse. Sa personne, sa manière de vivre et sa cour. Juin 1752.

- No. 45. A tour in North Wales. 1755.
- No. 47. Mr. Henry's reflections on a Picture of Raphael—Regiments in foreign service—Epitaph on Cardinal Torregiani, etc. . . .
- No. 48. Notes about the British Navy. (*paulo post* 1778.)
- No. 49. A tour through part of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. 1752.
- No. 50. Journal of a tour to the Lakes. 1811.
- No. 51. A breefe collection of the heads of many remarkable observations in the practice of military discipline. [By Sir Thomas Mainwaring.]
- No. 52. Nomina militum comitatum, civium civitatum, burgensium burgorum et villarum et baronum quinque portuum electorum ad serviendum in Parlamento incipiendo et tenendo apud civitatem Westmonasterii octavo die Maii Anno Regis domini Caroli secundi Anglie etc. decimo tertio. Anno Domini 1661.
- No. 53. Common place note book.
- No. 55. Sam Flintt's corn book. 1694.
- No. 56. A catalogue shewing on what shelfes and in what order the Books of Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Bart., do stand in his study at Peover.
- No. 58. Household account book. London. Feb. 12-May 9, 1695.
- No. 60. Household account book for Peover. 1699-1700.
- No. 61. An appraizment of the Books, etc., in the Library at the Hall of Over Peover. 1748.
- No. 62. Diana Mainwaring, widow and executrix of Henry Mainwaring, Esq., deceased, her accompt of money made by her from the personall Estate of the said testator.
- No. 63-66. Transcripts of No. 20 and 31.

## 5. PAPERS.

- No. 1. Halmote at Peover. (1521-1522.)
- No. 2. Proceedings of Withington Manor Court. 17-25 Eliz.
- No. 3. Proceedings of Over Peover Manor Court. 30-38 Eliz.
- No. 4. Abstracts of Court rolls of Barnshaw Manor "touching Hulse." 7 H. VII.-29 Eliz.
- No. 5. Considerations upon the present affairs off prince William off Ffurstemberg now prisoner att Vienna.
- No. 6. Margaret Colthurst v. Sir Ferdinand Leigh, Ralph Hollinshead and John Hollinshead.
- No. 7. Propositions intended for Muskovy.
- No. 8. A state of the Holland's militia by sea and land. Anno 1631-1635.
- No. 9. Parcell possessionum nuper comitis Kantie in manu domini Regis post mortem Ambroso (*sic*) nuper comitis Warwicke et Anne Uxoris ejus. 1635.
- No. 10. Depositions of witnesses on behalf of Sir Philip Mainwaring against John Davenport. 1637.

- No. 11. An extract of all and singuler the fynes and amercements of the Court Leete and Court Baron of Phillip Mainwaring, Esq., for his manor of Over Peover, there holden the sixt day of July Anno Regis Caroli nunc Anglie etc. XII<sup>o</sup>. . . .
- No. 12. An establishment for the pay of an army as it was in England by the Kings owne order. 1642.
- No. 13. The Mize Book of the county of Chester.
- No. 14. Steward's book for the manor of Barnshaw. 1653.
- No. 15. Interpretation du reglement émané sur la conduite et forme des logemens des quarties d'hyver en la Province de Flandres (*printed*). Bruxelles. 1657.
- No. 16. An establishment of the fforces in England and Wales as the same stood the 27th of February, 1659.
- No. 17. The Tythe to Withington taken about 1663.
- No. 18. The list of the French ships of war in the year 1669.  
A list of ships of war belonging to the city of Algiers with the names of the commanders.
- No. 19. Agreement between Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Bart., and Roger Whitley on the marriage of John Mainwaring and Elizabeth Whitley. 1696. (2 copies.)
- No. 20. An account of what Kings rent hath been received since the tenth day of October, 1679.
- No. 21. An account of the monys received att the audit in Ruthyn. October 13, 1679.
- No. 22. Agreement between Colonel Whitley and Mr. Samuel Hardaware. 1682.
- No. 23. First part of Colonel Whitley's discharge. 1685.
- No. 24. A Douvres le  $\frac{13}{23}$  May 1670. Logement de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans, sœur du Roy.
- No. 25. Liste des personnes de qualité qui passent en Angleterre avec S. A. Monsieur le Prince d'Orange.
- No. 26. Household accounts. 1690.
- No. 27. A royal proclamation "for encouraging mariners and seamen to enter themselves on Their Majesties ships of war." 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ .
- No. 28. Order van de wagten tot Sluys. (*Dutch.*)
- No. 28<sup>b</sup>. Orders for the watch at Sluce. (*An English translation of the latter.*)
- No. 29. Of the militia in Flanders.
- No. 30. Coppy of the Fyne "inter Johannem Halwood et Willelmum Moulton" levyed at Chester the 9th of October, 1654.
- No. 31. A calculation by J. Smart how taxes are paid in each county. 1699.
- No. 32. A rentall of the ffee, ffarme, cheife and old rents belonging to the Mannor of Barnshaw for one halfe year ending att Michaelmas last 1716.
- No. 33. Copy of Mr. Henry Mainwaring and Mrs. Diana Blackets marriage articles. 20 July, 1725.
- No. 34. Tythes of Peover. 1729.

- No. 35. Release of covenants between Sir Henry Mainwaring, Lord Warrington and Ralph Leycester. 1748-1749.
- No. 36. Oath of Sir Henry Mainwaring as freeman of Liverpool. 1761.
- No. 37. Names of nobility and gentry of Cheshire [*in alphabetical order*]. 1780-1783.
- No. 38. Pedigree of Mainwaring. 1660-1804.
- No. 39-54. Inventories of stock, goods, plate, jewells, etc., of Henry Mainwaring and Diana Blackett his wife.
- No. 55-56. Inventories of goods and furniture.
- No. 57-58. Dr. Angells obligation to return jewells, etc. Nov. 9, 1699. (2 copies.)
- No. 59. Inquisitio post mortem of Thomas Whitley. July 4th, 1693.
- No. 60. Inventory of the goods and chattels of Philip Mainwaring. 1648.
- No. 61-124. Letters and papers relating to the common council of Chester in the XVIIth century chiefly in the time of Colonel Roger Whitley's mayoralty.
- No. 125-126. Pay-list for the militia officers.
- No. 127-148. Papers concerning the recruiting and organisation of the Army and the Militia.
- No. 149-159. Papers concerning the navy and the merchant fleet, chiefly relating to the port of Liverpool.
- No. 160. Arrears of the royall and additionnall Aydes. 1669.
- No. 161. Estat des vaisseaux de guerre de France de l'année 1670.
- No. 162-192. Receipts of indigent officers chiefly to Colonel Roger Whitley. 1663-1664.
- No. 193-201. Audits in Cheshire. 1689-1692.
- No. 202-212. Audits in North Wales. 1689-1692.
- No. 213-219. Colonel R. Whitley's report on indigent officers, powers of attorney for the same, etc.
- No. 220-299. Money matters, chiefly relating to Ralph Whitley's estate.
- No. 300-354. Miscellany. (Property and household accounts, school notes, transcripts of ancient deeds, pedigrees, etc.)
- No. 355. Copies and extracts of court proceedings and other manorial records in a very dilapidated condition.
- No. 356. Notes and transcripts of deeds relating to the Mainwaring Family, apparently used by Sir William Dugdale for his *Chartularium Mainwaringianum*.
- No. 357. A particular account of the family of the Mainwarings of Peover and Baddiley.
- No. 358. Dole Book of the Manor of Over Peover. 1726-1728.
- No. 359-360. Account Books. Sept., 1679-March, 1682.

## 6. GENEALOGICAL ROLLS.

- No. 1. Amplissima Mesnilwrinnorum familia in variis stematibus per agnationes longe lateque propagata, armisque gentilitis distincta ac separata Sampsonis Erdeswici industria, anno Verbi incarnata M.D.XCII.

- No. 2. An extract of the auntient and worthy famyley of the Manwaringes of Pever and Caringham in the county of Chester, being continued to Henry Manwaringe, now of the citty of Chester, gentleman, his Majesties sercher for the Porte of Chester, colected by Randolphe Holme of the citty afforsayd, Deputy to the office of Armes, the XIth day of October, Anno Domini 1636.
- No. 3. A pedigree of the Earls of Northumberland showing their alliance to the Fyttons.
- No. 4. Exemplification by the College of Herald's to Thomas Wetenhall of the Arms of Thomas Mainwaring. 1797.
- No. 5. Testimonial presented to Sir Thomas Mainwaring by the King's Herald's and Pursuivants of arms for the help afforded by him in the rebuilding of the College of Arms. 1682.

## 7. DEEDS.

- No. 1-6. Deeds relating to lands of the Mainwaring Estate in Allostock and Knutsford. 1712-1780.
- |              |                                |            |
|--------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| No. 7-13.    | Same in Barnshaw-cum-Goostrey. | 1748-1793. |
| No. 14-25.   | —                              | 1651-1781. |
| No. 26-39.   | —                              | 1642-1763. |
| No. 40-43.   | —                              | 1786-1793. |
| No. 44-47.   | —                              | 1685-1733. |
| No. 48-52.   | —                              | 1720-1781. |
| No. 53-77.   | —                              | 1629-1793. |
| No. 78-96.   | —                              | 1627-1798. |
| No. 97-110.  | —                              | 1666-1805. |
| No. 111-121. | Same in Blackden.              | 1693-1765. |
| No. 122-124. | Same in Hulse.                 | 1770-1771. |
| No. 125-126. | Same in Knutsford.             | 1726-1812. |
| No. 127-140. | Same in Leigh.                 | 1654-1764. |
| No. 141-157. | Same in Marbury.               | 1768-1785. |
| No. 158.     | Same in Northopp.              | 1672.      |
| No. 159-183. | Same in Ollerton.              | 1720-1796. |
| No. 184-196. | Same in Peover.                | 1711-1754. |
| No. 197-217. | —                              | 1699-1711. |
| No. 218-239. | —                              | 1685-1795. |
| No. 240-261. | —                              | 1687-1746. |
| No. 262-283. | —                              | 1701-1795. |
| No. 284-295. | —                              | 1711-1725. |
| No. 296-300. | —                              | 1711-1712. |
| No. 301-325. | —                              | 1703-1752. |
| No. 326-330. | —                              | 1670-1711. |
| No. 331-338. | —                              | 1689-1797. |
| No. 339-347. | —                              | 1717-1749. |
| No. 348-352. | —                              | 1543-1711. |
| No. 353-357. | —                              | 1688-1749. |

- No. 358-434. Papers relating to the chapel, the school and the poors in Peover during the xviii<sup>th</sup> and xix<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- No. 435. Deed relating to lands of the Mainwaring Estate in Rudheath. 1755.
- No. 436-458. Same in Snelson. 1624-1795.
- No. 459-462. Same in Lower Withington. 1713-1786.
- |              |                    |                       |            |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| No. 463-467. | Mainwaring Family. | Marriage settlements. | 1647-1715. |
| No. 468-471. | —                  | Mortgages.            | 1713-1823. |
| No. 472-478. | —                  | —                     | 1711-1716. |
| No. 479-487. | —                  | —                     | 1712-1749. |
| No. 488-514. | —                  | Wills.                | 1682-1748. |
| No. 515-521. | —                  | —                     | 1795-1813. |
- No. 522-526. Commissions and agreements relating to Colonel Roger Whitley.
- No. 527-531. Money transaction Colonel Whitley v. Francis Ellis. 1669-1674.
- No. 532-544. Miscellany relating to the Mainwaring. xvi-xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

## HAND-LIST OF THE JODRELL MANUSCRIPTS.

BARNSHAW. See *Yeardsley*. 300.

CASTLETON (Co. Derby).

No. 34<sup>b</sup>. Letter of attorney from Sir John Savage and John de la Pole, Esq., to receive lands to the use of Roger Jodrell. 1416.

CHATBURN (Co. Lancaster).

No. 239-271. Deeds and papers relating to a dispute about lands. 1598-1694.

CHESTER (county of).

No. 90<sup>a</sup>. Appointment of Edmund Jodrell as sheriff. 1650.

No. 45<sup>g</sup>. Contract between Edmund Jodrell and Samuel Smallwood relating to the undersheriff. 1650.

No. 90<sup>b</sup>. Account rendered by the same as sheriff for the year 1651. 1652.

No. 96. Roger Wilbraham's letter to Edmund Jodrell on his accepting the office of sheriff. 1670.

No. 97. Edmund Jodrell's letter to Sir Peter Leycester requesting to be sworn into office before him. 1670.

No. 98. Appointment of Edmund Jodrell as sheriff. 1671.

No. 99. The same's account as sheriff. 1671.

No. 100. Henry Overtoun's letter to Edmund Jodrell on the sheriff's duties. ca. 1670.

No. 276. Appointment of Francis Jodrell as sheriff. 1715.

No. 277. Ditto. Ditto. 1716.

No. 278. Appointment of James Bayley as undersheriff. 1716.

No. 275. Appointment of John Bower Jodrell, Esq., as deputy-Lieutenant. 1783.

DAVENPORT. See *Yeardsley*. 300.

DERBY (county).

No. 27. Roger Jodrell, as Deputy Stewart to Sir Ralph Staveley, Knt., receives surrender of Richard Hendeman's lands in the county of Derby. 1410.

DISLEY.

No. 1. Abstract from the court rolls. 1351-1463.

No. 206. Agnes Hugghenaw surrenders premises to Robert Legh. 1363.

No. 233. License for Robert de la Roke to purchase land. 1363.

No. 5. Grant from John, the son of Henry de Honford to William Jodrell. 1363.

- No. 4. Admission of William Jodrell to certain tenements. 1365.  
 No. 9. Receipt to Roger Jodrell for rent of lands in Disley, Whaley, Yeadsley and Kettleshulme. 1384.  
 No. 10. Receipt for rent of lands in Disley, Whaley and Yeadsley, formerly belonging to William Jodrell. 1389.  
 No. 23. Receipt to Roger Jodrell for rent of lands in Disley and Yeadsley. 1400.  
 No. 25-25<sup>a</sup>. Receipt to the same for payment of rent in Disley, Whaley, Yeadsley and Kettleshulme. 1402.  
 No. 30. Grant from Robert de Holt to Roger Jodrell. 1411.  
 No. 34<sup>e</sup>. Grant by Roger Jodrell to George his son and Mathilda, his wife, of lands in Disley and Whaley. 1418.  
 No. 34<sup>f</sup>. Lease from Roger Jodrell to Benedict le Tournier. 1421.  
 No. 236. Surrender from Robert Stakyll to Robert de Downes and others. 1431.  
 No. 43. Payment for tithe of corn by Roger Jodrell to the parson of Stockport. 1539.  
 No. 44. Decree in the court of Star Chamber respecting right of common claimed by Roger Jodrell and others in Disley and Whaley. 1541.  
 No. 142<sup>a-l</sup>. Deeds relating to a messuage in the occupation of Peter Gaskell and his heirs. 1642-1731.  
 No. 282-299. Deeds relating to the land of John Pickford. 1647-1671.  
 No. 224-228. Deeds relating to William Leather's land. 1650-1699.  
 No. 101<sup>c</sup>. Surrender by Edward Jodrell of certain lands to the use of Thomas Troutbache. 1682.  
 See also *Yeadsley*. 42, 45<sup>d-f</sup>, 46, 46<sup>a</sup>, 93.

## GLASGOW (Scotland).

- No. 272. Admission of John Bower, merchant of Manchester, as a burgess and a guildbrother. 1770.

## HARTINGTON (Co. Derby).

- No. 202. Grant by Agnes, the daughter of Peter de la Pole, to William de Beresford. 1286.

## HAYFIELD (Co. Derby).

- No. 3. Grant by the same to William Jodrell. 1362.  
 No. 3<sup>a</sup>. Grant by John the son of William Jodrell to Thomas Jodrell. 1362.

## HULGRAVE.

- No. 204. Grant by Lawrence de Lynford to James Colorell and others. 1358.

## JODRELL (Family).

- No. 2. Pass from Edward, the Black Prince, to William Jodrell, one of his archers to go to England. 1355 [photograph].  
 No. 13. Marriage articles between Roger Jodrell and Alice, daughter of Robert Thornton. 1395.

- No. 18<sup>a</sup>. General release from John the son of Robert Tunsted to the executors of William Jodrell. 1388.
- No. 18. Covenant between Robert Thornton and Roger Jodrell touching the marriage of the latter with Alice, the former's daughter. 1398.
- No. 32<sup>a</sup>. Receipt from Benedict de Ashton to Roger Jodrell for purchase of corn and hay. 1400.
- No. 32<sup>b</sup>. Receipt from Roger Jodrell to John de Sutton. 1407.
- No. 33. Grant by Agnes, the widow of Thomas de Nedeham, to Roger Jodrell and others, of the wardship and marriage of Christopher Nedeham, her son, on contemplation of his marriage with the daughter of the said Roger. 1414.
- No. 34<sup>c</sup>. General release from Benedict de Ashton to Roger Jodrell of all actions. 1417.
- No. 34<sup>d</sup>. Grant by Roger Jodrell to Edmund Trafford and others of his goods and chattels. 1418.
- No. 34<sup>h</sup>. Release from John de Sutton to Roger Jodrell. 1422.
- No. 35. The last will and testament of Roger Jodrell, Esq. 1423.
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